ED 373 194 CE 067 022

AUTHOR Harris, Elayne M.

TITLE Dreaming Reality: Small Media in Community Development as Critical Educational Practice. A Case Study of Community Narrowcasting in the Town of Buchans, Newfoundland, Canada.

PUB DATE 92
NOTE 274p.; Doctor of Education thesis, University of Toronto.
PUB TYPE Dissertations/Theses - Doctoral Dissertations (041)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC11 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Adult Education; Cable Television; *Citizen Participation; Community Action; Community Change; *Community Development; Community Education; Community Resources; Developed Nations; Economic Change; Foreign Countries; *Mass Media Use; *Nonformal Education; *Public Television; *Television Viewing
IDENTIFIERS *Newfoundland (Buchans)

ABSTRACT

A case study documented the 6 months of intense activity related to the community narrowcasting process in Buchans, Newfoundland, and its relationship to community development for 7 years thereafter. The town collaborated with the Extension Service of Memorial University in using narrowcasting to advance the community's economic renewal. Learning in the Youth Training Group, Buchans Community Television Planning and Coordinating Committee, and the community was examined. Residents identified outcomes of the process that culminated in narrowcasting the pre-taped and live programs about circumstances in, and choices for, Buchans. The most significant outcomes were restoration of belief and confidence in community resources to address problems and renewal of the social contract between community leaders and residents. Exploration of the interplay between sociocultural dynamics of the narrowcast medium and cultural action of the community highlighted three interrelated propositions: organization of communication dynamics along dimensions oriented to the development agenda, a community-wide learning process founded in democratic practice, and adaptation of a medium in a manner that countered the dominant influence of mainstream television in favor of community empowerment. The integration of these propositions created significant support for Buchans' efforts to create an alternative future. Appendixes include interview schedules, correspondence, and a diagram of a typical cable television system. Contains 181 references. (Author/YLB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 373 194

DREAMING REALITY:

SMALL MEDIA IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AS CRITICAL EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE

A Case Study of Community Narrowcasting in the Town of Buchans, Newfoundland, Canada

by

ELAYNE M. HARRIS

A Thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Education in the Graduate Department of Education in the University of Toronto

©Elayne M. Harris 1992

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

E Harris

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CE067022

ABSTRACT

DREAMING REALITY:

SMALL MEDIA IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AS CRITICAL EDUCATION PRACTICE

(A Case Study of Community Narrowcasting in the Town of Buchans, Newfoundland, Canada)

Elayne M. Harris
Doctor of Education 1992
Graduate Department of Education
University of Toronto

The focal point of this dissertation is nonformal learning of a rural community engaged in media-assisted community development. The town of Buchans, Newfoundland, collaborated with the Extension Service of Memorial University in using community narrowcasting as a vehicle to advance the community's economic renewal. The dissertation is an illuminative case study of the process that emerged from their collaboration.

The case study documents the six months of intense activity related to the narrowcasting process in Buchans and the relationship of this period to development of the community for seven years thereafter. The learning of three groups (Youth Training Group, Buchans Community Television Planning and Coordinating Committee, and the community at large) was examined, each one engaging widening sectors of the community.

Residents of the community identified the outcomes of the process that culminated in narrowcasting the pre-taped and live program about circumstances in, and choices for, Buchans. The most significant were restoration of belief and confidence in resources internal to the community to address the numbing problems that beset Buchans and renewal of the social contract between community leaders and community residents.

The interplay between the socio-cultural dynamics of the narrowcast medium and the cultural action of the community was explored. Three interrelated propositions are highlighted: an organization of communication dynamics along dimensions oriented to and congruent with the development agenda, a community wide learning process founded in democratic practice, and adaptation of a medium in a manner which countered the hegemonic influence of mainstream television in favour of community empowerment. The integration and interweaving of communication, learning, and media counter-hegemony created significant support for Buchans's efforts to create an alternative future.

Since the technological support for similar learning-for-development resides in the community channel of all cable systems in Canada, the "Buchans Process" can be adapted in other rural communities facing equally severe problems. The potential for community television to support local learning-for-development is still untapped and largely unrealized. Further research is needed to expand on the suggestion that *identity* and *voice* are key elements of successful community development.

PREFACE

I never dreamed it could do what it done. (Buchans resident)

It was successful beyond my wildest dreams, beyond my wildest expectations. (Buchans resident)

Now, companero, we are dreaming reality. From the Introduction to The Empire's Old Clothes: What the Lone Ranger, Babar, and Other Innocent Heros do to Our Minds by Ariel Dorfman

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many people I wish to acknowledge as pivotal to the start and completion of this dissertation.

This dissertation was put in motion by Tony Williamson in 1971, who introduced me to Don Snowden, then Director of the Extension Service of Memorial University of Newfoundland. Don subsequently hired me—for the summer—and provoked this thesis by asking me in a casual tone to "write up" the "Fogo Process in Communication". Being naive but keen, I did it by Friday.

Since then many colleagues permitted me to take on the role of participant-observer in thinking about media and community development; in particular the talented, dedicated, idealistic, broody, pioneering, unpredictable staff of the Extension Service of Memorial University of Newfoundland among whom I worked for 16 years. I am indebted to them for creating an environment where images of community learning could always be dreamed and sometimes also accomplished.

Subsequently, I had the complete co-operation of 20 people in Buchans, who opened their homes and their memories to me and my tape recorder, for an entire summer. Of all the communities I could have selected as a case study, Buchans drew me by dint of the passion, daring, and abandon that residents gave, in seemingly endless supply, to the task of keeping the community of Buchans, not just on the map, but vibrant and alive. The calibre of leadership is a story yet untold, and this thesis is one small tribute. I am particularly indebted for kindnesses beyond simple friendship or Newfoundland hospitality to Norma Parsons, a woman with whom "wishing on a star" is no idle way to pass the time.

At the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, I had the good fortune to have Lynn Davie, Angela Miles, and Richard Townsend as my supervising committee. Lynn was the ideal supervisor for me—available, challenging, and reinforcing. Angela urged me to not let the joy of genuine intellectual investigation be overshadowed by doctoral program or research technicalities. Richard, I thank for quiet generous encouragement. I also had the benefit of Edmund Sullivan and Alan Thomas as unofficial members of my committee.

Fellow students Rose Dyson, JoAnn Krakauskas, Rankin MacSween, Anthony O'Connor, Jean Ogilvie, Bill Randall, Pam Sayne, and Jim Sharpe all made substantive contributions to my learning, and the quality of my life at OISE. I am particularly indebted to Jean who always took time to respond to thoughts/musings/problems of my work, both seriously and thoroughly. The Thursday morning group of Jim, Pam, Jean, and latterly Bill, gave me precious airtime in which to "cook" my dissertation aloud.

I owe a special thanks to John McLaren, who talked me through many battles with the computer, letting me emerge the winner every time. I also appreciated his insistent reminders that I was choosing the learning model of doctoral study, and not

the second rate efficiency model, when I fretted over the time that was passing while I still had many chapters yet unwritten.

Rob Nixon collects endless kudos for his abundant and abiding patience.

While I gratefully acknowledge the intellectual stimulation and moral support from many people, I also acknowledge friends who provided the material things of life, comforts without which my life as a student would have been considerably more spartan—the lifeline between Toronto and Newfoundland that supplied lobster and London Dock, the friends who took me out to wonderful restaurants, the opera, the ballet, lent me their car for weeks on end, offered their cottage for an escape, provided accommodation all through the data collection period, telephoned or encouraged me to reverse the charges, graced my desk with flowers, and who let me neglect them when the muse was upon me.

I appreciate, too, the faith of my parents, Millicent and Leslie Harris, who believed that someday I would finish. They waited 20 years to attend my first university graduation.

Finally, I acknowledge the inspiration of Dr. Florence O'Neill (Columbia University '31), the first Canadian, as well as the first Newfoundlander, to be granted a doctoral degree in adult education. Her death in the middle of my program ended my access to her vivid and compelling tales of early community development in outport Newfoundland. She wanted me to be the second Newfoundland woman to obtain a doctorate in adult education; and if Joan Whelan catches the spring 'flu, I will be able to grant Florence her wish.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract i

Preface iii

Acknowledgements iv

Chapter I - Introduction 1
- Background to this Research 1
- Origins of this Study 3
- Statement of the Study 5
- Background to the Question 6
- Positioning Media Communication within the Study 8
- Framework of the Researcher 8
- Form of the Study 10
- Definition of Key Terms 11
- Relevance of the Study 16
- Conclusion 18

Chapter II - Literature Review 19
- Introduction 19
- Communication 20
  - Canadian Communication Theorists 20
  - The Political Economy of Communication 22
  - Alternative Media 25
  - Development Communication 27
    - Development support communication 30
- Learning and Development 30
  - Learning of Communities Working for Development 30
  - Community Development 31
  - Community Development Link to Adult Education 32
  - Community Development Theory 33
  - Replacements for the Community Development Concept 36
    - Participatory research 36
    - Popular education 39
- Media and Learning 40
  - Public Forums 40
  - Challenge for Change 43
  - Cable Television 44
  - Community Radio 45
  - Native Broadcasting 46
- Conclusion 47

Chapter III - Research Methodology 51
- Rationale for the Case Study as Research Design 51
  - Condition one: research question 52
  - Condition two: experimental control 53

Condition three: scope for bounding 53
Condition four: desired end product 54
Valuing Subjectivity 57
Choice of Research Question 59
Site Selection 60
Selection of Data and Respondents 62
Influence of Researcher's Position on Respondents 68
Approach to Data Analysis 70

Chapter IV - Case Study (45 Miles From Nowhere) 71
Introduction 71
History of Buchans 71
Background on the Extension Service 74
Extension's Entry to Buchans 75
Other Extension Staff Visit Buchans 80
Nonformal Learning in Buchans 86
Youth Training Project 88
BCTV Planning and Coordinating Committee 92
Learning at the Community Level 100
Events in Buchans Before and After May 1985 115

Chapter V - Transformations 125
Revitalization of Community Spirit 128
Pride and Cohesion in Community 129
Increased Confidence in Abilities of Community Members 130
Creation of a Common Equitable Data Base 132
Impact on Community Leaders 134
Increase of Participation in Community Life 138
Making the Decision to Re-locate 140
Negative Consequences 141
Optimism versus Hope 143

Chapter VI - Reflections on the Narrowcast Medium 146
Methodological Aside 147
Implications of Characteristic Features of Narrowcast Technology . 151
Attraction of Narrowcasting 153
Limited Range of Transmission 155
Delivery of Signal to Individual Homes and Telephone Feedback 157
Central Transmitter and Home Reception 161
Scheduling, Sequencing, Pacing of Programs 163
Conclusion 165
Community Narrowcasting and Learning-for-Development 167
Information in Learning-for-Development 168
Priority in Accessing Information in Learning-for-Development 170
Opportunity for Participation in Learning-for-Development . . . 174
Local Knowledge in Learning-for-Development 176
Learning-for-Development as Participatory Democracy 180
Conclusion 183

Narrowcasting as Critical Educational Practice 184
Communication as Culture 184
Television in a Rural Context 185
The Narrowcasting Alternative 187
Buchans "On Television" 189
A Different Form of Television 192
Mirrors and Looking Glasses 193
Speaking the Word; Naming the World 196
Ownership and Control 200
Conclusion 203

Chapter VII - Summary and Conclusion 207
Summary 207
Implications for Practice, Research and Policy 210
Implications for Practice 210
Implications for development workers and continuing education professionals 210
Implications for staff of continuing education agencies 218
Implications for Comraunication Policy 221
Implications for Research 226
Limitations and Constraints 228
Conclusion 231

Endnotes 234

Appendices
A...Diagram of Typical Cable Television System 235
B...Interview Schedules: Buchans Residents and Extension Staff . 236
C...Letters to Respondents 241
D...Consent Agreement Signed by Respondents 246
E...Letter Regarding Use of the Community's Name 247
F...Equipment for Transmitter Projects 249
G...List of Abbreviations and Acronyms 250

References 251

Afterword 264

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background to this Research

In 1948, the residents of Newfoundland, Britain's oldest colony, voted to join the Canadian confederate nation by a 2.34 majority. I was one of the first generation of Newfoundlanders born as a Canadian. I spent my childhood in a series of small, rural, coastal communities and in the interior of the island portion of Canada's newest province when its traditional rural lifestyle was much in transition. Joseph Smallwood, Newfoundland's first premier, urged people who had worked as inshore fishermen for generations to "burn their boats for the jobs, jobs, jobs" that the prosperity of Confederation would bring.

As long as I can remember, there have been tales of heartbreak and regret as traditional communities were abandoned and Newfoundlanders relocated in new communities where their children would have better access to the health and educational benefits associated with being a province of Canada. One of my most haunting childhood memories is of watching two-storey, saltbox style, wooden houses being floated "up the bay" in summer or being pulled over the frozen ocean in winter, as thousands of people left remote, isolated hamlets for more centralized communities, some of which were government-designated "growth centres".

Early in my professional life, I worked for the Extension Service of Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN), a group involved in an extraordinarily broad

range of activities which some staff termed *community development*. All I could understand of that unfamiliar phrase was that the sites for the mélange of departmental activities were rural communities similar to those I recalled from my youth. The issues of community development were very familiar—unemployment, declining fish stocks, relocation, and a search for dignified and autonomous ways to secure the economic stability of those communities.

The activities housed within the Extension Service included intensive involvement with the burgeoning arts community and the experimental uses of film and video-tape. One of my earliest projects was to develop a booklet on the department's work with the National Film Board's Challenge for Change program in Fogo Island. The publication documented a new use of film with Fogo Island residents who were being forced by a combination of economic circumstances and government pressure to re-locate off island to growth centres. The work that applied film to development became internationally known as the "Fogo Process in Communication".

Later, I became aware that Extension's work was considered, in some circles, to be adult education, nonformal education, or popular education and that it existed inside a framework of learning. Gradually, I began to use this framework as an organizing device to bring intellectual coherence to the diverse expanse of departmental activities, most of them engaging but which, at first, had seemed unconnected and disparate. Community development took on a new meaning; learning had been added as a central ingredient.

Today I am still intrigued by nonformal learning as the conceptual basis for activities which support the residents of rural communities in being active agents in realizing their vision for their community. I also continued an association with MUN's Extension Service, where there had been practice for that purpose.

Origins of this Study

I sought the doctoral program and its requirement for a research question as a time and means by which to focus and reflect on community development as nonformal learning. Consequently, I selected a concern that has both theoretical and practical implications. The general issue is as follows: what makes an intervention by community developers successful in some communities and unsuccessful in others?

Immediately, clarification is required, particularly of the definition of success, with specifics of community development, community, and intervention following close behind. If the goal is community development, what constitutes successful community development? Whose definition prevails? The field of adult education offers some 100 definitions of community development due to the difficulty of combining two concepts which are problematic in and of themselves. *Communities* can be settlements of people with common geographic boundaries, or be the affiliation of individuals who are like-minded or share some common attribute; such as the community of Newfoundlanders who live in Toronto, for example. *Development* poses even more challenges because ideology, philosophy, and politics are all at issue in definitions of development.

The kind of intervention that caught my interest was one which is derived from *nonformal learning*. There is less dispute about the definition of that term, and a general agreement that nonformal education is "any organized educational activity outside the established formal system—whether operating separately or as an important feature of some broader activity—that is, intended to serve identifiable learning clienteles and learning objectives" (Ironside, 1985, p. 116). There are still minor differences over *nonformal* versus *informal* and more major ones between *learning* and *education*. Of more significance to my immediate interest as a researcher, the basic definition encompasses an extremely broad range of activities.

I have concentrated on a specific intervention in a specific community, even though that decision brought with it another set of problems. The practice about which I knew most was that of the Extension Service of Memorial University of Newfoundland; as a staff member, I had access to that organization. The aspect of Extension which most intrigued me was its continued experimentation and innovation with film and video, including a meshing of video and television known by those who used it, as *community narrowcasting*. (Details about the technical nature of narrowcasting are provided later.) Again, my interest was in identifying the forces at work when the combination of nonformal learning and media led to successful community development practice.

Coincidently, I had been on site in one community for a small part of a community narrowcasting project in 1985. Then I had been struck by the positive mood of the community during and immediately after the narrowcast transmission.

To watch people's faces and to observe their behaviour for a few days was graphic indication that something important, maybe even profound, had happened. I proposed to use the dissertation project to inquire into the community development process which used narrowcasting to facilitate nonformal learning in that community, a small mining town in the interior of Newfoundland called Buchans. I had lived there briefly many years previously and knew that this experience would help me gain access for research purposes.

Statement of the Study

The primary purpose of the investigation was to determine how and why a particular learning strategy that used community narrowcasting affected the residents of Buchans during an economic crisis involving the entire community.

Secondary questions related to the primary one were:

What were the key ingredients of the process?

What constituted a successful combination of those ingredients?

What was success?

How did community members respond?

What particular contribution did the narrowcasting medium make?

What changed in the community after the narrowcast project?

What were the effects of varying kinds of participation on the learning of individual community members?

How was participation in this particular learning process connected to individual and community response to the identified problems?

Ba kground to the Question

For the last 50 years in Canada, adult educators have shown interest in using media to enhance citizen participation in the democratic process. Specialists in communication also have been applying communication tools to development goals in Third World countries. While there have been many variations in both of these endeavours, one thread from the larger tapestry has been the use of community media at the community or regional level for learning and development agendas that emerge from inside a particular geographic area. On Fogo Island in Newfoundland, during the late 1960s, Memorial University of Newfoundland, in collaboration with the National Film Board, began using film to assist communication of island residents among themselves and with the provincial bureaucracy about matters of common and vital concern. This media-based intervention formed part of a larger learning process which led to the island's resolve to resist government encouragement to abandon their traditional community for relocation in a growth centre. Instead, the residents of Fogo Island found a local self-sufficient mechanism for creating and maintaining economic viability—a fishing cooperative—and stayed in their historical island location.

Many adaptations that used some of the basic premises of that early media-based learning process have been undertaken in Newfoundland, the Arctic, the United States, and the Third World by staff formerly associated with the Extension Service. The modifications included the medium which was selected, the scope of the learning project, the time frame, the degree of community control over the medium, the investment of time and financial resources from both the University and the community, the nature of the problem (including its degree of crisis) and the desired

outcomes. A more recent variation by the Extension Service in Newfoundland was the use of a low powered community transmitter or the community channel of the local cable operation. One or the other was used to complete an intense examination of the nature and scope of a particular problem facing a community or region, and the community's resources and interest in acting on that problem.

An enduring quest in adult education is to gain more knowledge about the nature of learning as a process. This occurs at the macro-level with theories of learning (Freire, 1970; McClusky, 1970; Knowles, 1970; Knox, 1980; Cross, 1981; and Mezirow, 1981), and at the micro-level through the exploration of the efficacy of particular strategies with particular learners for certain purposes. Cross-cutting these efforts are various other attempts to nail the learning jelly to the wall. Included in this list are definitions and types of learning, learning theory, learning ability, characteristics of adult learners, and credos of adult learning (Merriam, 1988a).

Much energy is currently being absorbed by a quest for clarification of the ultimate purpose of adult education, with an irreconcilable division for some between instrumentality and emancipation. In adult education as community development, this is a re-emergence of a recurring discussion and debate that began as early as the field of adult education did (Pyrch, 1983). The present fractiousness has been somewhat fuelled by a commentary on education in general that has its origins in a critique of society and its commonly accepted structures—capitalism, patriarchy, and imperialism (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Apple, 1982; and Giroux, 1988). Whether practitioners or academics, and irrespective of educational philosophies (Elias and

Merriam, 1980), the penultimate agenda for all adult educators is contributing to knowledge about or creating learning environments at micro, meso or macro levels that *facilitate learning* and *empower learners*. (These phrases, particularly the latter, are more commonly used by practitioners than by scholars or researchers, but are chosen deliberately to indicate the essentially applied nature of adult education as a field of practice.)

Positioning Media Communication within the Study

Media were key ingredients in this particular approach to learning, although my interest centred on media as means to an end, not an end in itself. Media were, nonetheless, central for several reasons. For example, they were more than simply communication channels which convey messages; they were part of the environment in which and through which the learning occurred. Therefore, even the role of regular broadcast media in the lives of the community residents were considered relevant to understanding the role of media in this context. This approach is similar to the acknowledgment that learners' past experiences with schooling can affect their response to engagement in current learning. Residents' relationship to the particular medium in this learning strategy was also assumed to be worthy of examination because the overall nature of the entire learning process was a relational one.

Framework of the Researcher

Twenty years of practice with many different forms of learning has convinced me of the effectiveness of a learning process that includes both action and reflection to address issues which arise from community analysis undertaken by adult educators

collaborating with rural community residents. At some levels, participation is a form of action that is allied to learning and the essence of learning—change in attitudes, behaviour, thoughts or beliefs. This statement acknowledges the existence of different kinds of participation, ranging in one typology from manipulation to control (Arnstein, 1969), and the fact that only some forms of participation are of the type I consider to be action.

At some levels and in some forms, participation is political in the broadest sense of people acting on their own behalf. One element of politics is the reality of groups with differing interests. Those who hold power often try to create as much powerlessness as possible in those whose interests are not allied to their own. There is a relationship between power and participation, with people in less powerful positions participating less in decisions and processes which affect their lives. However, some of these are actors or players through a culture of silence which is not without its own strength.

However, the options available to the less powerful to advance their concerns broaden when the means for genuine and overt participation are available. The learning process called community development—which in this study involves community narrowcasting—is one way educators can assist this broadening. Once individuals experience themselves as exercising their capacity for acting, for participating, for doing, for learning (and particularly if they are initially successful), they will use that capacity again in their self-interest as individuals or community members. If that agency has been collectively developed, it is likely to be used for

collective goals. As an educator, my interest has been to provide evidence of that innate capability to people of rural communities who are working towards economic, social, and cultural expressions that arise from reflection, informed choice, and a collective agenda.

Form of the Study

The study was developed as a qualitative case study. It was based on documentation and analysis of information on media-assisted community development in Buchans from the first visit of the Extension Service field worker in late 1984 up to February 1992. My research concentrated on the six months between December 1984 and May 1985 leading up to and including the narrowcast transmission. The data included all written documentation of the community development project which was held either by Extension Service or residents of Buchans, video-tape copies of all the transmitted material, and interviews with all staff of Extension who had worked on this or similar projects prior to 1988, as well as selected current and ex-residents of Buchans.

Before the research project began, I intended to develop a portrayal of the Buchans narrowcasting project as a case study by drawing equally from the reflections of both Extension staff and Buchans residents. Accordingly, I collected data from both. However when I began the analysis, the data from community residents startled me with its richness. Subsequently I changed the intended balance and gave the data collected in community interviews the central role in this dissertation. Data from that source were analyzed quite closely and drawn on more extensively for the

case report than data from staff. Nonetheless interviews with staff provided a valued and unique opportunity to reflect on critical media practice. Consequently, this is a case study much influenced by the perceptions of community residents. Technically it is not an ethnography because the emphases, the modes of analysis, and the reporting style have been chosen independently of ethnographic procedure, although the case has been ethnographically informed (Spradley, 1979).

The report draws heavily on direct quotations from interviews with residents of Buchans. Sometimes, I included as many as a dozen quotations from interviews with residents when only one would have indicated the kind of data on which my central point rested. However, I chose to include more voices of the people because they contained nuances on the same theme too intriguing to omit. Sometimes, I included quotations from a number of different people even if they were essentially alike because the common perspectives revealed much about a key dynamic, community cohesiveness being one such example.

Finally, this dissertation was designed as an illuminative case study that provided documentation and analysis emerging from the possibilities within grounded theory.

Definition of Key Terms

Definitions of *community*, *community development*, *community narrowcasting*, *small media*, *University field worker*, *Extension Service*, and *social change* are in order.

Community, for purposes of this research, has a specific geographical location. Community means an area that is small and self-contained enough that the geographic boundaries coincide with the "combination of social units and systems which perform the major social functions having locality relevance" (Warren, 1963, p. 9). Warren identified five broad areas as necessary to meet his conditions of locality relevance: production-distribution-consumption, socialization, social control, social participation, and mutual support. This definition of community essentially denotes a rural context and not a city neighbourhood one.

Community development is a process of learning and action among community members in order to address community concerns of a critical social, economic or cultural nature and which is assisted by a community developer. The process may have a specific goal as a direction for action but is of most value when individuals as collectivities gain a new sense of their own capacity and power as a result of working towards that goal. Community development, then, is undertaken in the context of local problem solving, but specifically to realize long-term benefits to community competence, including awareness of the political, social, and cultural realities of people's lives and communities. The definition does not deny individual growth and change but views both as enhanced when undertaken in the context of a common struggle. Therefore, without diminishing the value of empowered individual citizens to a realized democracy, my main interest in the individual growth which often accompanies community development is the availability of new resources for the community process.

Community narrowcasting is used in two ways. First, in the narrow technical sense, community narrowcasting is the transmission of a limited range television signal. It can be accomplished either through a portable, low-powered transmitter which sends a television signal from 3 to 10 miles, depending on terrain, or by a hook-up to the *headend* of any cable system. (See Appendix A for diagram of cable system.)

In the second meaning, and as used by Extension, community narrowcasting was a strategy employed when reaching the largest number of community residents was useful to the learning and development process of a community. There can be many variations; the degree of community involvement in the planning and control of the medium, the lead time prior to the transmission, the issues or problems to which it is applied, and the length of actual transmission. In Extension's work, transmission was generally short-term, concentrated, and ad-hoc, lasting between four to eight hours on a particular evening over a two to four day period. The format of narrowcasting can be a cross between an electronic townhall meeting and a Chautauqua-style learning event. By definition, community narrowcasting is "low-tech". Community control over the technical aspects of the technology's operation and the content construction takes precedence over the traditional production values of either video or television. This is both a matter of pragmatics and philosophy. A community narrowcasting process may take up to four to six months of collaboration between the Extension worker and the community, and this lead-in and planning time is essential to maximizing the tool for learning and development purposes. In the second meaning, community narrowcasting is a media assisted community development approach.

Little media, a term used by Schramm (1977), refers to technologies that are of human scale in contrast to the mysterious, technically sophisticated and professionally managed *big media* such as broadcast television, satellite communication, and other telecommunications. I echo this essential distinction between the scale of the technologies but choose a different phrasing—*small media*—to distinguish such media from the formal instructional context of Schramm's work.

Extension Service was a department of the School of General Studies, Continuing Studies, and Extension at Memorial University. Its mission was to empower Newfoundlanders to realize their cultural, social, and economic potential through the teaching of enabling skills in whichever learning modes were most fitting. Activities spanned the educational spectrum from programmes of non-credit courses which had a slant towards public issues in more urban centres such as St. John's and some larger towns, to a field programme in rural Newfoundland which was problem-focused, the problems being identified either by rural residents and groups or by the Extension worker. The Service nurtured the visual and performing arts in popular and formal forms and worked experimentally and traditionally with film, video, television, teleconferencing, and variations and combinations of those media.

The Extension Service originally started in 1959 at the urging of then Premier Joseph Smallwood who advocated a small university with a big extension service. This particular conception did not protect the Service staff from later criticism either by Smallwood and his ministers, or subsequent governments, as irresponsible rabble-

rousers stirring up unrest among otherwise quiescent people. Nor did it protect them from the usual politics of a University where some faculty regarded the application of nonformal learning to community problem-solving as inappropriate for an institution of higher learning. After 32 years, in 1991, these forces combined to close the department. (See Afterword.)

University field worker, *Extension worker*, and *Extension community developer* are used interchangeably in this study. All refer to staff who were hired by the Extension Service of Memorial University to (a) live and work in rural communities around the province and (b) to engage in nonformal education with community groups who asked the Extension worker for help or who responded to initiatives that arose from Extension staff. (The latter point makes clear that the Extension worker was encouraged to work with more than *felt* or *articulated* needs.) The University field workers had no preconceived package of information or program to deliver. They entered a particular situation with a set of assumptions based on their own practice and on department philosophy about adult learning, community development, effective social action, and the nature of social change, notions which are expanded in Chapter IV.

Social change is one outcome of community development efforts and indicates change up to the level of transformation of previously held views of the world and one's place in it. Social change may involve generating alternatives to previously accepted structures of that world.

Relevance of the Study

The media-assisted community development strategy used by the Extension Service has been surprisingly under-researched and under-conceptualized, even though its first generation ("Fogo Process") garnered considerable attention from the Canadian adult education community and internationally. One technical exception is three disputed evaluations of one specific media-based project on Community Learning Centres in Newfoundland in the early 1970s. A second exception is a more recent set of characteristics of the "Fogo Process" that emerged from conversations between a Third World scholar and a former Extension staff member. The latter had been associated closely with the original experiment of meshing film and development on Fogo and is now involved with international applications of some aspects of it (Williamson, as summarized by Belbase, 1987). Last year, a new publication, largely descriptive but authoritative in its descriptive elements, became available (Williamson, 1991).

Some assessments have been made of related applications, mainly outside Newfoundland, and in the context of the first 10 to 15 years of the development of the general approach. A dissertation on the larger Challenge for Change program of the National Film Board focuses primarily on its Fogo application in the 1960s (Moore, 1987). Some references to the "Fogo Process" in development communication literature are mistaken on several key facts. For example, in some accounts, video-tape was assumed to be the medium instead of film. No analysis has been undertaken of the more recent developments. Once it is more clearly articulated and analyzed,

the later version can be critiqued with a view to both improvement and adaptation. This dissertation is an effort in that direction.

Small media in community development appear to have particular relevance for rural and economically depressed regions of the country. The regeneration of such areas receives given scant attention; yet their decline will strain centralized services and lower quality of life for many. One can argue that economic planning models which do not engage the active participation of the citizenry will not create healthy people or a healthy country. This study illuminates one approach to citizen involvement in the well-being of their personal and collective lives. The equivalent media tools used in the case are available to most rural communities in Canada, and with adaptation, to rural communities in other countries.

The intent of the study is to lay the groundwork for an understanding of a nonformal learning strategy for development and social change which incorporates media. Little analysis has been made of media-based community development by North American adult educators, and development communication has been so severely critiqued as to trigger a resuscitation effort. An analysis of current practice can provide new horizons for the former and renewed vitality to the latter. As such, the study addresses unresolved aspects of development communication. This begins an approach to development communication that incorporates learning and the practice of community development with a more informed understanding of media, particularly small media. In addition, the study also contributes to an understanding of community development as a subfield of adult learning.

Conclusion

This dissertation emerged from my association with a particular Canadian approach to adult learning at the community level and my continuing questions about its use and outcomes. The approach is a form of community development practised by the Extension Service of Memorial University of Newfoundland which incorporated *small media* into problem solving and problem posing efforts with various sectors or with all of small rural communities in Newfoundland. Therefore, I am joining the large number of my predecessors in adult education research who have attempted to penetrate the mysteries of the learning process by focusing on one particular strategy. To bracket the task for purposes of this research and to maintain the social-cultural context in which such learning occurs, I confined myself to the study of one application of an approach to nonformal learning in a particular community at a particular time. My purpose: to understand the learning process through a refined comprehension of this event as one *example* of the larger whole.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

At the heart of this dissertation lies a curiosity about the influence of media on the process and outcomes of community-based learning. I wanted to know more about the place and power of small media in the individual and collective learning of people who share geographic boundaries and a common concern related to community life within those boundaries. At the most general level, I am interested in the transformative role of small and alternate media in a group's collective struggle to find its *voice*, or a community's effort to re-vision its future. Specifically, my research explored the contribution of a specific medium—narrowcasting—to the development goals of a community when the medium became part of the learning process which adult educators designate community development.

Simply put, the dissertation centres on two concepts, media and learning, with the latter as both a process and an outcome. Communication theory, small media, radical media, mass media, and television are relevant to media as the first concept. Adult learning, community development, development, social change, popular education, and participatory research inform the second concept of learning. The Canadian experience with media and adult learning has been reviewed as context, as were international efforts involving media and development (the latter known as development communication).

Communication

Canadian Communication Theorists

The intention of the research was to examine a specific application of small media in the development initiatives of a rural community in a period of crisis, an initiative which was undertaken in collaboration with the extension staff of the closest university. The examination focused on the interplay between the socio-cultural characteristics of the medium employed and the cultural action of the community in using that medium to reflect on and make decisions about its future.

The European model of communication as culture or a "process through which a shared culture is created, modified, and transformed" was relevant to this investigation (Vipond, 1989, p. 104). This cultural model suggests that communication is a principal part of a broad web of significance, through which learning about society is accomplished (Carey, 1975). Assuming that the dynamics of the media of communication can profoundly affect their content, the cultural model of communication regards media critically, complexly, and inclusively.

The work of two well-known Canadian communication theorists fall within the model. Innis (1950) has offered an analysis of the capacity for perpetuation of large geo-political units based on the technology of their communication devices. Three of his assumptions suggested tantalizing possibilities for clarifying the role of alternate or small media. For example, Innis asserted that the form of the available communication media strongly influence the forms of social organization that are possible; that new media facilitate the creation of new patterns of association and the

articulation of new forms of knowledge; and that disenfranchised groups in society will lead the search for new forms of technology in the competition for access to social power.

McLuhan's aphorisms—the world as a global village, the medium as the message, and the media as technical extensions of our senses—all take on a cultural context (McLuhan, 1964). Of particular interest for this study was the relevance of the mass media's creation of the global village to a rural people whose current concern was for the survival of their own local village or community. One question was how the television technology that alters the perception of global distance affects perception of the local village. If any new technology creates a new environment, what is the new environment which is created when a community gains control over the technology of narrowcasting? Innis's assumptions and McLuhan's aphorisms became a useful background for probing the relationship between communication technology and social organization and culture.

The tenets of current scholarship among mass communication scholars flow directly from the culture model of communication. First among these is an emphasis on the relationship between mass media and the power relationships of society, which leads to a focus on the political and economic infrastructures in which media are imbedded. Second is the stance that media are social institutions and thereby legitimately open to scrutiny about economic, cultural, technological, and institutional predilections. Finally, the cultural model promotes scholarship which examines how messages are created and the subtlety and pervasiveness with which media shapes

the perceptions and cognition of individuals and society (Vipond, 1989). All three aspects of this cultural form of media analysis inform my research.

The Political Economy of Communication

Schiller (1973), Ewen (1976), Smythe (1981), MacLean (1981), Czitrom (1982), Dyer (1982), Gitlin (1980, 1983, 1986), Postman (1985), Lewis and Pearlman (1986), Manoff and Schudson (1987), Sullivan (1987), and Chomsky and Herman (1988) are all communication scholars operating from within a cultural paradigm of communication. Although each has made a highly specific contribution to the political economic perspective on American mass media, Gitlin's work may be taken as representative of the type of analysis in which they all engage.

Gitlin's general approach was clear in his statement that the primary customers of television are "advertisers whose business it is to rent the eyeballs of the nation" (Gitlin, 1983, p. 167). The theoretical basis of Gitlin's work is found in his use of Gramsci's prison notebooks and the latter's writings on hegemony (Gitlin, 1980).

Gitlin (1980) illustrated the workings of hegemony in journalism in some detail, originally spurred by seeking an explanation of media treatment of the New Left of which he was a participant. His summary of the hegemonic influences in the American journalistic enterprise included the media elite's honouring of the political-economic system of which they are a part; the need to maximize audiences, profits, legitimacy, and status; and the weakness of regulatory bodies. He also pointed to the unconscious collusion of reporters with news sources and self-serving definitions of

what constitutes news (the person, not the group; the conflict, not the underlying consensus). He acknowledged the constraints of media organizations, such as budgets that give precedence to news that is dramatic in nature and metropolitan in location, and shortage of time which leads to stereotyping and glibness. He concluded that the essential nature of the media is commercial ("selling the attention of audiences", p. 280).

Gitlin's work (1980, 1983, 1986) is an example of mass media scholarship that draws on assumptions about media's rootedness in society and the power relationships that are inherent therein. As well, its approach to media is that media are a part of society with frameworks and practices which should be subject to examination. Together these are key points of communication in a cultural model. His Inside Prime Time (1983) is a particularly strong analysis of television along the second dimension; that is, media as one of society's institutions which deserves critical analysis in itself.

In proposing a mass media (print and television) engaged in manufacturing consent that works against the intelligent discharging of political responsibilities, Chomsky and Herman (1988) took up the first of these themes—the relationship between the mass media and power relationships in society. In the same vein, Schiller (1973) was concerned with global power relationships and wrote sensitively about the imbalance in global communication and information distribution. This theme was much enlarged by the controversial New World Information and Communication Order and the report of UNESCO's McBride Commission (1980).

Ewen (1976) appeared to be more allied to Gitlin's portrayal of the media itself in his account of the advertising industry and its ties to the social history of capitalism, particularly in the early years of this century. For Ewen, media influenced the cultural framework of belief systems and created the common outlooks and shared consciousness which support a consumer society.

If Ewen provided an economic analysis of the advertising component of media, Postman (1985) offered insight on the technological framework of television. Largely McLuhanistic, his theme was that human interaction is shaped by the technology through which interactions take place. His essential point has been that both the fragmentation and immediacy of modern radio and television combine to produce a surfeit of information without context. In combination with the essential nature of television as one of illusions, images, and superficiality, Postman warned that television consumers are reduced to a kind of apathetic passivity. He stated:

> Most of our daily news is inert, consisting of information that gives us something to talk about but cannot lead to any meaningful action. This fact is the principle legacy of television. By generating an abundance of irrelevant information, it dramatically alters the "information-action ratio." (Postman, 1985, p. 68)

Although this study focused on small media, mass media was the *ground* for the examination of small media as *figure*. This review portrays mass media with characteristics which are the polar opposite of those of small media. The contrasts speak of an authentic counter-hegemony possible with small media.

Alternative Media

Community narrowcasting is a classic example of small media or form of media that are neither complex nor expensive. Narrowcast television, as used in this study, is also a superb example of community media, a helpful concept for highlighting both the scale and the context which are defining features of narrowcasting.

> Community media are adoptions of media for use by the community, for whatever purposes the community decides. They are media to which members of the community have access, for information, education, entertainment, when they want access. They are media in which the community participates, as planners, producers, performers. They are the means of expression of the community, rather than for [original emphasis] the community. (Berrigan, 1979, p. 8)

Berrigan's definition specifies a rebalancing of inequities in access to media but does not clearly delineate an accompanying socio-political agenda. Writers about alternative and radical media show no such reticence. These writers see communication as a fundamental force in the battle for power and the function of radical media as redressing power imbalances.

> Overcoming class, racism, sexism, other forms of subjugation, are central concerns.... [Radical media] is concerned with how people subjected to these forces can communicate with each other so as to construct an understanding of how [original emphasis] they are subjected, and still more of how they can act together to create new social relations unmarred by these wounds. (Downing, 1984, p. 10)

Alternative media, too, are intent on being a force for social change, often through attempts to reveal underlying explanations of social and political problems by providing the perspectives of people whose voices are often excluded from mainstream media. Such media exist because the social activists who work with them believe that media reflect the values of the people who own them (Armstrong, 1981).

Alternative media, a phenomenon which was born in the 1960s and 1970s, mainly consists of film, video, print, some computer uses, and cable television.

Both film and video were originally the main forms of alternate media for artists, and film remained so. Then the advances in video technology in the late 1960s provided relatively inexpensive and uncomplicated portable video equipment that opened doors for social and community activists, without the need for professional media skills. Again, the issue was not only providing access to more members of the community, but providing access to sectors of the population whose points of view were otherwise ignored. Video democracy also put equipment in the hands of those who were the subjects of the produced materials, thereby increasing their control over all aspects of production, including editing and distribution. The National Film Board's Challenge for Change program is one of the best examples of activist video, sometimes also called guerrilla video, echoing the title of an influential publication on alternative media, Guerrilla Television (Shamberg, 1971).

Alternative media owe a philosophical debt to Hans Magnus Enzensberger, German critic and poet, who coined the term *emancipatory media* to describe his vision of ideal media (1974). Central features of emancipatory media would be their control by users and provision for two-way communication flow, allowing all receivers also to be transmitters. Henderson (1978) also wrote of the need to democratize media, stressing the pervasiveness of mass media and the potential for alternative media to advance citizen involvement in neighbourhood and national issues. Like

Enzensberger, she drew attention to the power which accrues to the intermediaries of mass media such as sponsors, editors, and licensees.

Development Communication

The preceding section on small and community media illustrates that media descriptions mean little outside specific contexts or applications. Accordingly, the communication literature with particular relevance to my interest in application is that of development communication.

The communication field has had a long investment in development, and through that interest, could be said to share a preoccupation of the adult education enterprise. However in spite of this, the literatures of the two fields have only barely begun to take any note of each other. Development communication has very recently acknowledged Freirian concepts, participatory research, popular education, participation, and indigenous knowledge (Larkin, 1990). For its part, mainstream adult education makes little reference to development communication, possibly reflecting its general underdevelopment in strategies of nonformal learning for communities as a whole.

The context and setting of development communication is invariably, either explicitly or implicitly, international or Third World, hence *development* communication. Nevertheless, on the surface, its definition as "the application of communication with the goal of furthering socio-economic development" (Rogers, 1989, p. 67) appears to encompass activities and academic research in the *developed* world

that also examines the link between communication and development. At least, the structural reasons underlying lack of development in the Third World are no different from those contributing to underdevelopment in certain regions of Canada, including Newfoundland.

There are, for example, striking similarities between the beleaguered circumstances of rural communities in Newfoundland as the Canadian province with the highest rate of unemployment, including the community of this study, and rural subsistence communities in the Third World. So, too, are there parallels between the analyses of underdevelopment in Canada, in places such as Newfoundland (Matthews, 1983) and Third World countries. Structurally created economic dependencies and peripheral-centre polarities (Myrdal, 1957; Frank, 1969) are central in both cases. An awareness has emerged that definitions of development are created in the image of those doing the defining.

Development communication has evolved with development through three phases—modernization, dependency, and multiplicity (McAnany and Storey, 1989). Modernization has been described as a Western package of "transfer of information, economic growth, organization structuring, and the application of communication strategies" (Nair and White, 1989, p. 3). The dependency phase included an awareness that political and economic realities created dependency for some countries. This evolved into the currently popular multiplicity phase, largely spurred, it would appear, by theoretical pluralism, including cultural pluralism (Young, 1979). While there are some who would query this particular naming of phases, writer after writer

(Samarajiwa, Lent, Goonasekera, and Quebral in Jayaweera and Amunugama, 1987) have agreed on the magnitude of the shifts. All acknowledge the passing of the dominant paradigm (i.e., "modernization") or the collapse of the old orthodoxy.

The latter day conception of development has benefited enormously from critiques by both Asian and Latin scholars. Of the many analyses of its components, those adopted by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation as "another development", captures dimensions that are central to the development concept of this dissertation. Its five features are summarized below:

> Need-orientated; that is, geared to meeting human needs, both material and non-material. It begins with the satisfaction of the basic needs of those dominated and exploited, who constitute the majority of the world's inhabitants, and ensures satisfaction of their needs for expression, creativity, equality, and conviviality, and to understand and master their own destiny.
>
> Endogenous; that is, stemming from the heart of each society, which defines in sovereignty its values and the vision, of the future. Since development is not a linear process, there could be no universal model; only the plurality of development patterns can answer to the specificity of each situation.
>
> Self-reliant; that is, implying that each society relies primarily on its own strength and resources in terms of its members' energies and its national and international (collective self-reliance) levels; but acquires its full meaning only if rooted at the local level, in the praxis of each community.
>
> Ecologically sound; that is, utilizing rationally the resources of the biosphere in full awareness of the local ecosystems as well as of the global and local outer limits imposed on present and future generations. It implies the equitable access to resources by all, as well as careful, socially relevant technologies.
>
> Based on structural transformations; they are required, more often than not, in social relations, in economic activities, and in their spacial distribution, as well as in power structures, so as to realize the conditions of self-management and participation in decision-making by all those affected by it, from the rural or urban community to the world

> as a whole, without which the above goals could not be achieved. (Nerfin, 1977, p. 11)

Development support communication. One reason for inconclusive results from four decades of development communication research is the lack of differentiation among the scale and purpose of some projects. For some, this lack is addressed by distinguishing between development *support* communication and development communication. A simple way to understand the difference is through attention to scale. In development support communication, the site of development would be a group within a community or the entire community, if modest in size, and the technology would rely more on community or culture-based media than on mass media. Narrowcasting is an instance of development support communication.

Learning and Development

Learning of Communities Working for Development

This dissertation deals with a specific community which engaged in a large-scale learning project with a university extension department and used a medium known as narrowcasting. The effort was in the service of a development goal. The development was based in nonformal learning over an extended period of time. Community residents and university workers designed and managed the project as collaborators. As such, this case study stands as an example of the mode of adult learning that the literature designates as community development.

Community Development

Consensus on the precise meaning of community development has eluded the field of adult education; upwards of a hundred definitions are available. One range of possibilities is to differentiate between community development as *process*, *product*, *movement*, or *method* (Sanders, 1970). Community can refer to bodies of people that are bound by common geography (the community of Buchans), or by shared interests (the native community). Rothman's classic work on community organizing (1974) has been appropriated for the community development literature, most notably by Wharf (1979), and has at its core a schema for identifying three different models of community practice—*locality development, social planning*, and *social action*.

Rothman's framework offers a purity rarely found in practice. Additionally, his models, in their crystallized form, document widely varying assumptions about goals, community structure, and problem conditions pertinent to each. For example, those who subscribe to the locality model of community development assume that problem conditions in communities arise from a lack of relationships and capacity, a state to be addressed by engaging a broad cross section of the community in collaborative, democratic, problem solving. In contrast, those who subscribe to the social action model of community development take the stance that community problems arise because of social injustice and inequity, problems which require structural change, conflict, and coercion or attack on the oppressors.

The spotlight on definitions of community development and Rothman's three models has raised a critical distinction in the community development literature

between two perspectives which, for conceptual simplicity, can be cast as revolutionary/radical and reformist/liberal.

Community Development Link to Adult Education

The logical connection between community development and adult education is a focus on the forms and processes of learning in which groups and communities engage as part of the development effort. The assumption would be that large numbers of people become learners, although the natural setting of the learning may obscure obvious parallels between education as previously experienced or formulated, and the action oriented and problem-specific learning of community development. For adult educators, learning is the core of the development process, and changes and advances in community life which occur as a result of external interventions are generally outside their interest in community development as an adult education process. Additionally, adult educators rarely value community development that exclusively focuses on material benefits, unless there is also increased capacity in the skills, ability, awareness, and confidence of community members. Active participation is regarded as the means for capacity building and learning. These are characteristics of the form of community development that is part of adult education.

In recent years, the relationship between community development and adult education has been obscured by the current emphasis on a market-driven professional practice of adult education (Selman, 1985; Rockhill, 1985; and Mezirow, 1989). Nevertheless, those with a vision of adult education as a strategy for social change, either at the level of community, country, or society, have established the linkage.

Among these are Coady (1939), McClusky (1960), Mezirow (1960, 1985, 1988), Freire (1970a, 1973), Adams (1975), Roberts (1979), Thompson (1980), Brookfield (1984), Lovett (1975), Youngman (1986), Welton (1987), and Hamilton and Cunningham (1989). Many in this group are intellectually linked to a progressive tradition of adult learning, of which Edward Lindeman (1926) is the most influential exponent.

Community Development Theory

Not surprisingly, given the differing conceptions of community development and adult education, variations also appear among writers on the place and nature of learning in the development enterprise. Freire (1970a, 1973), Roberts (1979), Lovett, Clarke and Kilmurray (1983), and Brookfield (1983) all offer different views about learning in community development. Lovett et al., for example, is suspicious of the view that community action is, in itself, a learning process. The differences about the place and role of learning in community development reveal the under-conceptualized state of theory that is relevant to this inquiry. If learning is the central concept and if views are widely divergent about the positioning of learning in the community development enterprise, it should be no surprise that adult education lacks models of community development or research traditions that unify and bring coherence to that aspect of the field.

Adult educators who link community development as a learning process to the goal of empowerment through critical awareness find some respite in those theorists who hold changes in consciousness as a common element, such as Freire, Mezirow, and Candy (Merriam, 1987). Those who ally the idea of community development with

social change make the assumption that changes in consciousness among considerable numbers of people are essential pre-requisites of social change.

Freire's (1970a, 1973) practice gave rise to a particular form of learning and social change, *conscientization*, in which peasants acquire the practical skill of literacy simultaneously with socio-political analysis. Although Freire's original work and philosophy have been diffused throughout much of all forms of current education, community developers in particular, appropriated it as a better portrayal of their framework of skill, action, transformation, learning, social change, and people-centredness than previous attempts to marry those ingredients. While the transferability of Freire's actual techniques is still in doubt, largely because of differences in cultural and political climate, his philosophical stance and educational vision has wide acceptance within community development circles. Key to Freire's work is a re-framed consciousness of social and political reality in which peasant-learners find in the conscientization process, an awareness which transforms their previously diminished sense of capacity and power.

Although some adult educators dispute the veracity of the adoptions and the sincerity of those subscribing to them (Kidd and Kumar, 1981), few dispute Freire's basic tenets. While Freire has been joined by others in fuelling a "countercritique" of the deleterious effects of capitalistic-based education on society in general (Beder, 1989), Freire's thought has special relevance for community development and adult learning because it derives from his work with adults.

Mezirow's theory of perspective transformation (1985) arose from his observations of women in the transition of returning to educational institutions after some years either in the paid work force or at home. Mezirow patterned his theory from three areas of cognitive interest advanced by Habermas (1972) who offers the notion that adult learning progresses from technical learning (related to work) through to practical learning (in interaction and interpersonal skills) and on to emancipatory learning (self-knowledge). Perspective transformation becomes the emancipatory act of reflecting critically on the manner and ways that constrain how we see and know the construction of roles and relationships.

Mezirow draws a parallel between his version of perspective transformation and Freire's critical consciousness; indeed they are both concepts which describe reflection on the construction of meaning. Freire's route to critical consciousness is conscientization, a process "in which men [sic], not as recipients, but as knowing subjects, achieve a deepening awareness both of the socio-cultural reality which shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality" (Freire, 1970b, p. 27).

Both theories have insights to offer researchers who deal with a learning process that involves adults in coming to a radical and fundamentally different way of seeing their lives. However, critics of Mezirow note that his perspective transformation lacks a socio-political context, thus making it somewhat unsatisfactory as a theory of education for social change (Collard and Law, 1989). While Freire's theory arose directly from an emancipatory agenda for large groups of people and with

a critique of dominant ideologies of education (banking versus problem posing), he is not particularly forthcoming about the collective dimensions of conscientization.

Replacements for the Community Development Concept

Within the literature of adult education, little attention has been paid to the community development concept for the last thirty years. Little or no documentation is available tracing the evolution of the concept during that time. However, newer works on participatory research and popular education have shown these fields to be contemporary frameworks that contain many philosophical and practical similarities to community development.

Participatory research. Participatory research, or participatory action research, offers an emerging, but promising, synthesis of adult education and community development as social action practice. This is particularly the case if one adopts a catholic perspective in defining or conceptualizing research, or if one considers a broad learning framework as useful to community development practice. Indeed, a case could be made for participatory research as a democratized version of classic knowledge creation, since even people who are ideologically polarized about community development would agree that knowledge is power.

This general view underscores the systematic approach to generating, collecting, analyzing, and evaluating data that is part of participatory research, but obscures its context of an intentional political agenda. Two additional clarifying features are participatory research's nonconformist choice of collapsing the usual

subject/object distinction of research, and defining what constitutes legitimate knowledge differently from the positivist tradition, by giving a value to indigenous knowledge.

As allied to action research, but arising from work with oppressed peoples outside North America, Hall has defined participatory research as "an integrated activity that combines social investigation, educational work, and action" (Hall, 1981, p. 7). This definition does not differ substantially from McClusky's insistence thirty years ago that:

> Community development is essentially a direct method of teaching. Instead of standing on the sidelines and assuming that instruction done out of context ... will somehow automatically lead to a productive attack on local problems, community development helps the learner make the connection between his [sic] learning and its application directly and without the interference of intervening factors. It may deal with concrete data or concepts and at times be highly intellectual, but in any case relevance [original emphasis] is the chief characteristic of its approach. (McClusky, 1960, p. 422)

While it is useful to note the differing assumptions that undergird participatory research, its essential similarities to traditions of the past should also be recognized. The recurring and cyclical nature of these issues about the community development concept, as well as statements on their subtlety, proponents, and evolution are largely unacknowledged in the adult eduction literature. Pyrch, an exception, recalled Verner's comment that adult educators are historical illiterates (Pyrch, 1983).

Among those who have elaborated on aspects of participatory research are McTaggart (1989), Krownenburg (1986), and Fals-Borda (1989). All three share

McTaggart's emphasis on authentic participation, critical analysis, and personal and collective knowledge. Another key to participatory research is its political nature, which McTaggart specifies as such because "it [participatory research] involves us in making changes that will affect others ... for this reason, it sometimes creates resistance to change, both in the participants themselves and in others" (McTaggart, 1989, p. 9). A fuller political-economic framework has been added by Conchelos (1983), and a feminist application by Maguire (1987).

Freire has reasoned somewhat differently because he begins with practice, but the full body of his work supports participatory research. The similarity of approach is striking:

> If I perceive reality as the dialectical relationship between objectivity and subjectivity, then I have to use methods for investigation which involve the people of the area being studied as researchers.... I must try to have people dialogically involved as subjects...[thinking] about their own thinking. (Freire, 1982, p. 30)

Fuelled in part by communitarian politics, participatory research is among the freshest of the current research paradigms. Its firm base in the learning process gives participatory research immediate relevance for community development as a sub-field of adult learning because of the centrality of education/research in its process. In spite of this, participatory research merits only a page and a half in the most current Handbook of Adult and Continuing Education (Deshler and Hagan in Merriam and Cunningham, 1989).

Popular education. An enterprise with similar philosophical roots to those of radical community development and participatory research is popular education, an approach whose reflection-action goal is to stimulate learning for social critique. Education for social change is another term to describe the same activity (Arnold, Burke, James, Martin, and Thomas, 1991).

The essential characteristics of popular education include political intention and aim; alliances with popular movements or, at the very least, direct application to the agenda of grassroots groups; the presumption of horizontal relationships between educators and learners/peasants; and the attendant supposition that popular classes can collectively discover, develop, revalue, and use their own knowledge for liberation and action (Vio Grossi, 1981; Cadena, 1984; Hernandez, 1985; Torres in Osorio, 1989; and Hamilton and Cunningham, 1989).

Hamilton and Cunningham (1989) have explored the commonalities between community development and popular education that arose from the debate on this theme during the Third World Congress of the International Council for Adult Education held in Buenos Aires in 1985. They point out that conceptually, popular education is linked to analysis of cultural and social hegemony. This view is explicit in three points from the program that Osorio assigned to popular education:

> a) to start from a popular culture which, although with a dynamic nucleus, is a dominated culture.
>
> b) it implies a communication process: hegemonic construction is not located at an individual level; its goal is to achieve a concept of life critically elaborated and disseminated in a social group so that it becomes the basis for social organization and action.

> c) it intends to approach the subjective reality of popular groups and to incorporate cultural content and guidelines that are present in daily life, but at the same time, popular education represents a cultural action that seeks to question present culture and to elaborate the vision of a coherent world, that considers people's position in society and contributes to the development of their creating and transforming society. (Osorio, 1988, p. 33)

With its emphasis on a dynamic nucleus, communication at a collective level, and cultural action, this description of popular education is remarkedly close to the intent and practice of the media-assisted community development process of this dissertation.

Media and Learning

A final dimension of the literature that has relevance to this study of media and community development is Canadian and international experience and research on media applications in community development. While some might quibble whether or not a Canadian literature exists on media and social change, there is indisputably a Canadian adult education tradition of the use of media for public life and democratic citizenship.

Public Forums

In the 1940s, the pervasiveness of Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) coverage and the perceived need to stimulate rural development across the country during wartime gave rise to use of the national, public network for a radio program to engage farmers and others in discussion about self-reliant economic development. A significant feature of the Farm Radio Forum was the encouragement of groups to feed the results of their discussions back to a provincial Radio Farm Forum office so that

listeners' opinions could become part of subsequent broadcasts. Thus, farmers became aware of themselves as a clear constituency with opinions and ideas that radio made publicly available, and the CBC showed its ability to provide a mechanism for farmers to communicate with each other. (Schwass, 1972; Faris, 1975). The Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE), a national non-governmental advocacy group for adult learners, and the Canadian Federation of Agriculture were partners in this approach to adult learning.

The success of Radio Farm Forum led the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE) in 1942 to approach the CBC once more for collaboration on another public affairs program. This one proposed to involve citizen/learners in urban areas in active discussion about broad political, social, and economic issues. Thus Citizens Forum was launched, modelled on the previous Forum's features of study materials, group discussions, and feedback to a central point for incorporation into ensuing broadcasts. This effort was considerably less successful in engaging citizens actively (Faris, 1975), and was discontinued in 1965. However, the Canadian model of radio forums was adopted in a number of countries as part of a development process, including Ghana, India, Malawi, Zambia,and Afghanistan (McAnany, 1973).

The desire to find successful ways to promote citizen discussion, exchange, and learning across the country by use of mass media did not end with Citizens Forum. A more recent initiative, in 1979, was the People Talking Back project, again sponsored by the CAAE and CBC. The project was designed to democratize television by first capturing the major themes of concern to Canadians at that time and, second,

exchanging the reflections of 320 small discussion groups structured around those themes across the country through five on-air programs (Staff, Learning, 1979).

Recent examples of the use of the media-assisted forum model for civic participation have emerged, notably Forum Africa; two public forums on Great Lakes-St. Lawrence water levels sponsored by the International Joint Commission for residents on both sides of the Canadian-U.S. border; a national consultation on AIDS awareness; and two national satellite video-conferences on literacy awareness. In each case local community meetings at different locations in the country were linked by cable television and satellite broadcasting to a panel of resource persons who coordinated and facilitated the process from a central studio location (A. Clarke, personal communication, March 20, 1990). Each of these examples had an explicit agenda of raising awareness of a particular social issue—a campaign strategy—and were not structured for open-ended exploration on broader citizen concerns. The forum model of using mass media to disseminate information, and small discussion groups to incorporate that information into action strategies continues to find its way into public use.

An adaption of the same technology was used for some aspects of the Spicer Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future. In 1991 and 1992, the country seemed to be awash in public consultations which drew on adult education traditions of education for citizenship, some with media components, others more akin to Swedish study circles (Selman, 1991). For example, the current public consultations in five cities on changes to the constitution are broadcast in full on CBC's Newsworld.

Challenge for Change

The National Film Board (NFB), was established by the Canadian government in 1939 under a mandate to create documentary films "to show Canadians to Canadians". Its Challenge for Change program was developed in the 1960s, essentially to give voice to the disenfranchised as identified by the social critics of that time (Henaut, 1971). More latterly, NFB supported the emergence of a variety of citizen groups with a stake in using media, particularly video, for social action and/or increased citizen control over their own media voice. These citizen groups were often the marginalized whose issues were unpopular or whose perspectives challenged the accepted orthodoxy. It was a time of power to the people, with all its excesses and all its victories. In these activities, the NFB shared philosophies with alternative and radical media.

Many high profile experiments of citizen action used video across the country, but none received more attention than the outcome of NFB's collaboration in 1967 with the Memorial University of Newfoundland's Extension Service on Fogo Island. This project has been described and analyzed by a number of writers (Henaut, 1971; Gwyn, 1972; Harris, 1972; Low, 1974; Berrigan, 1979; Kennedy, 1984; Moore, 1987; and Williamson, 1991). A unique collaboration evolved between university development workers and film makers through sensitive use of film that focused on personalities or events during the island's resistance to a government resettlement program. Discussion and initiative arising from the screening of these films were a significant factor in the residents' commitment to remain in their original communities and their establishment of an island-based viable worker/producer

cooperative in fish harvesting, marketing, and retailing. Now known as the "Fogo Process in Communication", the phrase has entered both the adult education and development communication literature.

Thirteen years ago, Hannigan (1979) concluded that, with the exception of "Fogo Process" projects in rural areas and "guerrilla" media projects in urban ones, he did not anticipate much growth in the use of media for social change. His analysis was accurate in that the assets and power within society have not been reallocated or transformed by media interventions, and scarcely no recent literature exists on media for social change in this country. However, certain developments still hold the potential for change and deserve attention.

Cable Television

Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) requires most cable operations to make a community channel available to their subscribers as a condition for licensing. The requirement was predicated on the continuing Canadian effort to give ordinary citizens access and control over local programming. This effort included visions of community cable channels as demystifiers of television (Lawson, 1972), and valiant efforts by community programmers of some cable companies, such as Calgary Cable, to make these visions reality (Zolf, 1973). Regrettably, with few exceptions, the image of potentiality that some people, including adult educators, held for involving citizens actively in local and national affairs through the community channel of cable systems has been realized only in perfunctory ways.

One determinant in the under-utilization of cable television's community channel for social change is the prevalent hegemony of broadcast television. These circumstances make it difficult for all but those most resistant to cultural domination of this kind to use the community channel option for anything but a localized version of regular broadcast, or *local television* as distinct from *community television* (Trudel, 1991). Citizen groups, social activists, and community developers who have not been exposed to models of community-controlled community media in the service of a social change agenda continue to be unaware of the transformative tool untapped in their own community. This dissertation provides one possible model for innovative programming on the community channel.

Community Radio

Community radio also had potential for giving citizens control over locally relevant broadcast possibilities. For some sectors of the population and for some forms of community radio, community radio is a simple extension of either open telephony or voice-only communication through CB's, and mobile radio transmitters. Community-managed radio is non-profit, community based, dependent on external funding, although not without commercial privileges, and has programming that relates to local cultural and social development (Ogilvie, 1983).

One instance of community radio that developed was CBC's community access model. Rural and remote communities with a CBC community-rebroadcast transmitter were granted access to create and broadcast their own programs at mutually agreed upon times. In Espanola in northern Ontario, CBC then provided

the services of an animator and a small studio, establishing a model that became extensively used in indigenous radio programming across the country (Ward in Ogilvie, 1983). Eventually indigenous community radio grew in strength with the assistance of technical and financial support from the federal Department of Communication until twelve native communication societies were formed.

The largest community radio effort in southern Canada has been in Quebec. Since 1973, more than twelve communities purchased and operated their own radio stations, all with generous provincial government sponsorship. It has been critically argued by Barbier-Bouvet, Beaud, and Flichy (1979), and taken up by Ogilvie (1983), that the state project constrained the community radio experiment within a framework of social adaption to a government project of cultural nationalism. Recently, government funds for community radio in Quebec have decreased.

Native Broadcasting

Not to be overlooked in this account of media history is the adaption of technology in the Canadian Arctic where low-cost radio and television options have made broadcasting and narrowcasting possible in remote native communities. Successful interactive satellite TV broadcasting experiments have linked culturally cohesive people from different regions in the North so that aboriginal people are aware of their common struggle, common aspirations, and shared vision.

The launching of Television Northern Canada in early 1992 has consolidated the efforts of seven native communication societies, and broadcasts in 15 aboriginal

languages and dialects across five time zones (Platiel, 1992). Still dominated by programming from the South, the network could be a prototype for balancing locally produced programs and network offerings if initial plans are followed to increase the proportion of northern-produced programs. The technology can also support greater diversity in small, decentralized broadcasting operations, including ones more allied with narrowcasting than broadcasting.

Of late, the energy in Canada for new experimentation with communication and learning has moved away from social action. The focus increasingly has been on access to formal learning. University continuing education departments are investing in development of distance education delivery modes and provincial educational broadcasting authorities are growing in strength. These include the Knowledge Network (Open Learning Agency of British Columbia), Access Alberta, the Saskatchewan Communications Network, and TVOntario.

Conclusion

I have reviewed four areas of literature with relevance to my research project: (1) communication theory, particularly mass media; (2) community development, participatory research, and popular education; (3) adult learning theory; and (4) media and learning. In general, the review has been considerably more helpful in locating scholarly work which is allied in philosophy and perspective than in finding work which offers a framework for analysis at the micro-level of this research.

Almost no literature can be found that both describes and analyzes instances or projects which have incorporated small media in a community-wide development initiative from a framework of nonformal learning. The closest project is the "Fogo Process" in Newfoundland (Harris, 1972; Williamson, 1991) and its various application elsewhere. Although Williamson briefly relates the process to participatory action development, his intent was not to place it in the context of learning.

A small number of descriptions can be found of projects that are ordered from a base in democratic relations between animator and community residents, or group members, and for goals of social change (Kennedy, 1984; Belbase, 1987; Deza, 1989; Thede and Ambrosi, 1991). While these offer useful opportunities to note certain operating principles at work, the writers do not specifically undertake to analyze the process along dimensions of learning.

The reviewed bodies of literature generally address one or another component of this research project in isolation from the rest. Adult learning theory offers potentially useful frameworks of critical consciousness and perspective transformation, founded mainly in newly realized capacity for conscious reflection on social relations. Communication literature provides a clear picture of the hegemonic tendencies of mass media and good insights into some of the specific effects of mass media on construction of social realities and public discourse. It also provides useful background about the usual ways in which media shape understanding and relationship to the world and offers a basis of comparison for small or community media.

Development communication literature is about the use of communication technology in the context of development. In general terms, the development context is also the context of this research, so that the discussion about development frameworks is highly relevant. In development communication, development is most frequently at macro-levels, initially countries or regions. In the most recent literature, however, the interrelationship of local and national development is being increasingly acknowledged (Servaes, 1989). In this literature as well, the culture model of communication is emerging, as subscription to the transportation model recedes. Again, this trend is congruent with the assumptions of this study.

One way in which the development communication literature is inching closer to adult learning lies in newly found excitement about participation from the development communicators. However, often the understanding of the rationale for participation is still limited to "participatory message development" and a "two-way dynamic interaction between 'grassroots receivers' and the 'information' source" (White and Patel, 1988, p. 8). On the other hand, Servaes meshes participatory research with development communication, believing that "the most developed form of participation is self-management" and that it extends to the planning and production of media content (Servaes, 1989, p. 22). Kumar stresses the relevance of participatory research because it "derives its principles and methodology from within a community/movement and its social context, and believes that people, not media communicate" (Kumar, 1989, p. 4).

The community development literature was of limited use because the issue of communication as part of that process was rarely addressed. Some articles on community newspapers and community radio speak to the contribution of these media to community life, although not in the context of anything but general enrichment. Again, the "Fogo Process" and its applications elsewhere are among the few efforts to design a communication process for specific and particular community development tasks.

The missing perspective in the current literature is the integration of several pieces which could create a holistic understanding of small media in development. Three of these pieces are the nature of the learning activities in which the community engages using media; the outcomes in terms of learning and development; and an analysis of the medium itself. Because no research was found which offered such integration, this study represents an early attempt to provide that more comprehensive terrain.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The method elected for this research project was that of a qualitative and illuminative case study. Data were collected primarily by interviews and participant observation. Data analysis was based on the constant comparison strategy of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), and progressive focusing (Parlett and Hamilton, 1977).

Rationale for the Case Study as Research Design

Two people from quite different fields, experimental psychology and education, have written remarkably similar books on case study research. One pinpoints the case study strategy as fitting for those investigations concerned with "complex social phenomena...[and] holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events" (Yin, 1989, p. 14). Merriam concurs that a case study is an "intensive, holistic description and analysis of a bounded phenomenon such as a program, an institute, a person, a process or a social unit" (Merriam, 1988b, p. xiv). Both descriptions fit the research question of this dissertation.

Both Yin and Merriam move from the macro level to a delineation of the particular conditions of research which are well served by the case study method. Yin attributes three defining characteristics to case study: first, investigation of contemporary phenomena within real-life contexts; second, circumstances in which there is no clear distinction between phenomenon and context; and third, abundance

of sources for evidence. The case study strategy is advantageous, according to Yin, when a "how" or "why" question is being asked about a contemporary set of events over which the investigator had little or no control (Yin, 1989).

Merriam, too, establishes four conditions to be met before the case study strategy is adopted. These include a particular kind of research question, the amount of control which is possible over the conditions and factors of the study, the desired end product of the inquiry, and whether the phenomenon under study can be delineated as a *bounded system* (Merriam, 1988b). There are strong echoes of Yin in her conditions. Moreover, since she writes specifically about education, I have used her criteria to outline the choices of this dissertation.

Condition one: research question. In this research study, the research question so strongly suggested and influenced the methodology decision that "elected" may be too weak a verb in the opening sentence of this chapter. The question was how and why a particular learning strategy used in one community had created the impact which the respondents reported. The question required the following: wideness of scope rather than narrowness since I was interested in a complex process; immersion in a welter of information including anecdotes, documents, video-tapes, recollections, and whatever more systematic data gathering strategies I could add; an examination of both propositional and tacit knowledge; a conceptual framework that is larger than the specifics themselves; and bounding because of the real-life and nonformal nature of the context. These characteristics of the question were an

excellent match for those which the case study as research method is said to serve (Merriam, 1988b).

Condition two: experimental control. The second of Merriam's criteria for appropriateness of the case study in research design rests on the amount of control that is possible over factors and events one wishes to study. In the instance under discussion, where the process involved the transmitter, little or no control was possible. The University considered the project finished. Documentation had been put on the back shelves, both at the University and with Buchans' unofficial, but thorough, archivist.

The experience in Buchans with the narrowcasting process was new. Attempts to introduce experimental controls would have been technically possible but practically random in that any of a dozen or more different elements could have been tagged as either a dependent variable or independent variable. As Rockhill has written, understanding of reality would have been sacrificed and obscured by methodological rigor (Rockhill, 1982). The situation was a natural one in which one thousand people were involved, but at their own discretion. While it was happening, the process was one of risk and discovery. There were few "givens".

Condition three: scope for bounding. The third of Merriam's criteria for considering case study as appropriate design for a particular research interest, and the one she labels "deciding" (Merriam, 1988b, p. 9), is whether a *bounded* system can be identified for the research. Simply put, this is a question of being able to place

perimeters around the phenomenon which is to be studied in order to be clear about what would be inside the research task and what would be outside.

The necessity for bounding was an issue for the Buchans study. It was easy to decide on the exact nature of the community boundaries, thanks to both the chosen community's isolation and the limited transmission range of the particular technology employed in the process. Bounding the phenomenon in time posed more problems, but other than as background, events in the community prior to the development worker's first field visit to the community were not included. The finishing point for the study was the date of the writing of the report.

As Yin's reference to a lack of distinction between phenomenon and context presages, the most difficult aspect of bounding was to decide which was which. I decided that the phenomenon to be studied was neither the Buchans transmitter project, as commonly named by the development staff, nor Buchans Community Television (B.C.T.V. or BCTV), as it is most often described by community residents, but the development process in that community of which community narrowcasting was a feature.

Condition four: desired end product. Clarity about the desired end product of the research in order to make an appropriate methodological selection is the last of Merriam's criteria, and is inextricably wedded to the her first factor, the nature of the research question. Merriam confines her range in end products of case studies, the final report, to three possibilities—description, interpretation, and evaluation

(Merriam, 1988b, p. 27). I present the case for a fourth possibility—one whose purpose is primarily illumination.

A descriptive case report is one that would exhibit an omnibus quality about context and specifics. Through it, the reader would be taken into a new appreciation of the circumstances of a case which would not exist with less portrayal of the telling features of the phenomenon. This version of a case study report often does not attempt to generate theory, hypothesis, conceptualization or even propositions. It is a very defendable choice when the phenomenon being presented is a new one which needs the completeness of an intensive, holistic account as a first step in trying to reach consensus in any form on even key factors.

An interpretive case study is conducted for a different reason—the application of some degree of explanatory conceptualization after careful study of the phenomenon itself. The goal is to interpret the data in terms of an a priori theory or hypothesis. In Merriam's words "rich descriptions...are used to develop conceptual categories or to illustrate, support, or challenge theoretical assumptions held prior [my emphasis] to the data gathering" (Merriam, 1988b, p. 28).

An evaluative case study is the last of the Merriam trilogy. Evaluation is relatively straightforward in terms of comprehending the issues in a case study because judgement is the only new element added to either the description or interpretation of the first two kinds of case study reports. Some contend that the case method is the best evaluation strategy since it has the advantage of addressing

relationships and links which are too complex to be accommodated in evaluations relying on experimental design (Guba and Lincoln, 1981).

These three case reports in Merriam's typology are useful for their purposes. However, a fourth type, the illuminative case report, is put forward here as a case study report that also has a distinctive outcome. This outcome would have much in common with elements of the descriptive and interpretative case study reports, but be particularly apt for initial research on certain kinds of educational innovation and practice.

More than one writer in education has suggested that illumination should be the priority of those who do research on educational innovations (Trow, 1970; Rockhill, 1976; Parlett and Hamilton, 1977). While advancing illumination as an outcome, these writers describe outcomes which are entirely congruent with the case study method.

> The primary concern of illumination research is with description and interpretation rather than with measurement and prediction. The purposes of illuminative research are to study the innovatory programme, how it operates; how it is influenced by the situation in which it is applied. (Rockhill, 1976, p. 7)

> The researcher of innovations must:
>
> familiarize himself [sic] thoroughly with the day to day reality of the setting which he is studying. His chief task is to unravel the complex scene which he encounters; isolate its significant features; delineate cycles of cause and effect; and comprehend relationships between beliefs and practices; and between organizational patterns and the responses of individuals.... The task is to provide a comprehensive understanding of the complex reality (or realities) surrounding the program; in short, to "illuminate". (Parlett and Hamilton, 1977, p. 16, 25)

One feature of the illuminative case report is that description and interpretation are both essential. Description is necessary because the cultural setting of the original phenomenon is assumed to be a potentially important context for presentation in pursuit of an illuminative agenda. Interpretation is the key means for creating explanatory frameworks and is required so that the illumination is rich enough to begin, however tentatively, to generate understanding of how future practice might be informed by past experience. However, in an illuminative case, the data are not interpreted by a priori theory or hypothesis, but arise from reflections on the data itself through grounded theory. Since this is the intended outcome of my case report, I have adopted the term *illuminative case report* for the intended outcome of my dissertation.

Valuing Subjectivity

In case study as a research design, most, if not all, data will be gathered by the researcher. Since the researcher is the primary instrument for both data collection and data analysis, the issue of subjectivity must be acknowledged. Concern about the drawbacks of subjectivity can be put into perspective by consideration of the advantages to be gained by the use of the human instrument in undertaking participant-observation in a case study design. Additionally, an effort to be aware of where and how subjectivities impinge on the research process, and within that, an attempt to proceed with an effort to control and compensate for inappropriate bias is appropriate.

Most qualitative researchers claim that not only are there strategies which compensate for researcher subjectivity, but that retaining it has advantages (Bogdan and Biklin, 1982; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1988b; Marshall and Rossman, 1989; and Patton, 1990). Lincoln and Guba (1985) name reactivity, indeterminacy, and interaction, all acknowledged by various positivists as desirable, to support their view that knower and known are inseparable. They further assert that such phenomena are opportunities to be exploited.

There are two particular areas of sensitivity in my research to be acknowledged. The first is the possibility of a brand of ethnocentrism in the research project because I have been associated with the people, practice, and place of the case study for many years. The second is whether university staff and community residents I interviewed could be expected to interact with me in my current role of researcher and not in my past and future role as director of a university department, my position at the time of the data collection. (The closure of the Extension Service noted in Chapter I, occurred after my data collection but before the completion of this document.) In the first instance (university staff), I was the director of the department which employed them, and in the second (community residents), I had some discretion over the human resources which the community might again be seeking. In both cases, the question is whether respondents would wittingly or unwittingly collude during our interviews to give me what they assumed I wanted to hear.

Ethnocentrism is far too tricky to be simply denied. Fortunately, my research agenda was understanding and illuminating, a process as much advantaged by degrees of ethnocentrism as disadvantaged. This contrasts with a concern about positive discrimination if my research agenda had been evaluation. I was seeking insight into something which had already received critical acclaim on the operational fronts that mattered to me as the director of the department. An evaluation that would satisfy me as an academic researcher could not be undertaken until several parts of the phenomenon were better understood and conceptualized than was currently the situation in the adult education or development communication literature. Such understanding and conceptualization was the task of this dissertation.

I address the possible collusion of respondents later in this chapter.

Choice of Research Question

Merriam (1988b) assumes that the case study as a research design strategy emerges from the research question. In my view, research questions themselves emerge from one's set of ontological and epistemological assumptions. If one subscribes to the naturalistic paradigm, as I do, the only questions that are sufficiently interesting to spend any substantial length of time pursuing are those which arise from questions shaped by that perspective. In hindsight, it was predictable that the research question which interested me would be congruent with a general approach to inquiry, grounded in people's complex lived reality, humanistic

in how it engaged them in reflection on their world, consistent with the richness of nonformal education, and a meshing of tacit (indigenous) and propositional knowledge.

That this is the circumstance does not relieve me, while I am in the role of researcher, of the need to account for my methodological decisions. The use of Merriam's derivative criteria for case study design, which is the organizing framework for the first half of this chapter, represents my propositional knowledge about that choice.

Site Selection

Several factors influenced my choice of Buchans as the research site. Buchans is an isolated community, with no confusion about geographic boundaries. The process of collaboration I wanted to investigate had taken place six years ago, long enough that both the town's people and the University considered the collaboration, if not the community's continued development, to be completed. I assumed, therefore, that my research project would not add any particular complexity to ongoing community dynamics. Moreover, the five years between the community transmitter project and my data collection was sufficient time to give me the advantage of working not with just the glow of accomplishment that immediately follows a "successful" project, but with more long term and well rooted impact. Of the transmitter projects that had been undertaken by the University's development workers, this one was often a referent point for those that came before and after. The project had garnered enough attention and positive regard that a reflective, even critical, piece of research

now would not impinge in any harmful way on the community's valuing of its worth to the present and future development of the community.

In addition, unlike some rural Newfoundland communities where I would have more difficulty gaining entry, I had lived in Buchans in my early teens. Even though I would not be considered a "Buchaneer" as result of this sojourn, I would be granted some measure of access to the community on this factor alone. Since prior residency gave me a shared set of references with community residents, I was also able to maximize time spent in field work in the community.

Buchans was a community with extremely able leadership and many proud and clear thinking residents. In the collaboration with the Extension Service, Buchans was not a client, but a partner, and the department learned as much as the community did. The contact between Buchans and the Extension Service was conducted as an exchange of equals. I counted on that relationship to establish a precedent for my task and anticipated receiving the normal courtesies of person-to-person politeness in considering my request for meeting and responding to my interview questions. However, I judged this community strong enough to effectively manage its interaction with an outside researcher on its own terms. Finally, I believed that the new exchange could take place without any irreparable harm to any work in which the community might become engaged with the University in the future. The last two items mentioned relate as much to interactions with the respondents who provided data as they do to site selection but the two cannot be separated in this instance.

Selection of Data and Respondents

Data collection decisions traditionally hinge largely on questions of sampling and instrumentation (Miles and Huberman, 1984). In this investigation, by the time the research question and the research design had been clarified, so, too, had several of the sampling and instrumentation possibilities. Working with a design in which no experimental control was possible, and focusing on an event that had happened in the past, I had only a few sampling decisions left to make.

One was my choice of documents that remained and were available to a researcher. The documents I consulted were primary documents and included quarterly and annual reports of University staff, annual reports of individual staff and the department itself, press coverage, videotapes of material narrowcast as part of the process, the application to support youth involvement in the project that assisted with seed monies for the venture, public documents in the town's library, and miscellaneous background documents, such as the development plan discussed via community television, and historical material about Buchans. By virtue of my positioning in relation to the parties involved in the process, I could access all the documentation that I or involved others knew to exist. Although large, this amount would not be insurmountable to screen, hence a simple sampling decision—everything.

A second sampling decision was which of the many people who had information about the Buchans community transmitter process I should involve and by what means, the latter an instrumentation issue which had to be settled conjointly with the

sampling one. In addressing these together, I will also fulfil my earlier intention of dealing with my relationship to the respondents.

Given my qualitative paradigm, it seems axiomatic that I would interact with others about their perspectives, their reality, their "take" on the subject that interested me. Little, if any, qualitative research is conducted without some kind of data gathering from and with people in a position to have an important outlook on the topic under investigation. It is telling of a qualitative framework that I consider such individuals to be respondents or interviewees with whom I wish to interact, not to study them, but to have my own understanding enhanced by theirs with all their subjectivities.

My decision was to proceed with a semi-structured interview about uses of media in community development in the community of Buchans. I began by interviewing a theoretically or purposive sample from two groups I judged to know most about this topic. Accordingly, my respondents were the residents of Buchans and the staff members of the Extension Service who had been involved in community transmitter projects in Buchans or other rural communities in Newfoundland. In my interviews, I was clear about the issues I wanted to discuss but not in what order or at what length, leaving the specifics to emerge from what seemed most likely to be productive and natural at the time.

Because I wanted to have the benefit of discussing my reading and my reflections on media-assisted community development with experienced practitioners,

my first interviews were with the field and media staff of the Extension Service.[1] The total population of field workers was included as this number was not so large as to make interviewing all of them unfeasible. From the group of media specialists, I selected individuals nominated by field workers as having the most experience working in rural development with them. I interviewed nine of the first group and five of the second to gather their insights about media-assisted community development. The interview schedule is included as Appendix B.

My second set of interviews with Extension staff focused on the Buchans project exclusively and involved lengthy interviews with two development workers and two media specialists. (See Appendix B.) I used interviews with them to prepare for interviews with Buchans residents.

The final interviews were with Buchans residents. I began with the intention of interviewing 15 residents but found such richness in the earlier interviews that I enlarged the sample to 20. At that point I reached data saturation and stopped. Seven of the respondents were women; 13 were men.

Originally, I began to seek respondents with varying amounts of involvement in the initial process. I attempted three categorizations: (1) a group whose involvement was restricted to viewing part or all the transmitted materials; (2) a second group which had been involved in some aspect of the process; and (3) those who had been active members of the local Planning and Coordination Committee for the project or, who, as key leaders in the community, were drawn into the planning

process in an integral way. During the interviews, as respondents reported highly individualized patterns of involvement, I became aware of the artificiality of these groupings. I also grew to understand that residents did not share my judgement of what was low, medium, and high involvement. I abandoned the categories, per se, although I continued to seek respondents whose investment ran the width of a continuum from minimal to intense.

The interviews with residents of Buchans ranged from less than one hour to four hours and formed the central data of this research. These data were read, re-read, coded, and analyzed over some months. They eventually became the source of much of Chapter IV (Case Study), all of Chapter V (Transformations), and the basis for the analysis in Chapter VI. Interviews with community residents were treated as foreground data sources, in contrast to the background role of interviews with staff members of Extension.

All the interviews were semi-structured. I began each one knowing all the topics on which I was seeking perspective and comment, but I let the order and the length of time spent on each item emerge from a conversational, rather than an interview, frame. Sometimes respondents introduced themes outside those I had anticipated but which added new dimensions to my inquiry. Usually, close to the end of each interview, I took a moment to check the ground covered in this mode against the list of written questions. During the last interviews, I was able to dispense with handling the questions in written form in favour of re-reading them just before the respondent and I met. Hence the interview schedule which is included as Appendix

B was for my use and only approximated the specifics and individuality of each interview.

Respondents from the staff group were approached for their assistance in two ways. First, the individuals received a letter from the head of their divisions that outlined my research interests in brief and indicated support for my endeavour by allowing them to meet with me during working hours. This letter also stated that the choice to participate was a individual one and that compliance would not become part of any official record or documentation. A second letter sent directly from me requested an interview at a time and place convenient to the individual. Appendix C gives a copy of this letter. Each person who agreed to be interviewed signed the consent agreement included as Appendix D.

Community residents again were a sample selected because they were by nomination or by their own judgement involved in the project, at the very least as viewer-participants. Three ex-residents were also interviewed. For the most part, these individuals also received invitational letters (see Appendix E), followed by a phone call to confirm willingness and specifics of availability.

When I was in Buchans to collect data, if some of respondents were not available due to last minute circumstances (the availability of a hunting licence, a forgotten prior commitment or unexpected illness), other possible respondents were approached initially by telephone. If they were agreeable I delivered a letter with all details to their homes immediately and telephoned later to confirm the initial

receptiveness. In the latter instances, it was generally known to the community that the person "from the university" who was around Buchans for parts of the summer was doing a study on the community television project; few would have been surprised by my presence in the community. I did, however, have more success in acceptance from people with whom I had been in written communication before arriving in the community.

The community members from whom I received most negative responses to my request for an interview were those who had little direct involvement in either the planning or execution of the project. This may have been because they did not think they had anything useful to add to my study or were uncomfortable with the arrangements I was proposing.

At times in seeking respondents, I re-thought my compliance with the ethics review procedures of the University of Toronto and its paradoxes in the eyes of those unfamiliar with its rationale. I told respondents that I would want to quote them, but that I would not use their words in any way that might cause problems for them. I also promised the anonymity of pseudonyms, but then asked interviewees to sign a consent form to indicate their willingness to participate in my research. In situations of greater familiarity with academic protocol or even settings where paper contracts were common, my choices might not have been at issue. It was also in these situations that I thought most about my personal ethics in having chosen the design and data collection methods I have described.

My initial letter to respondents also indicated that I would follow traditional academic protocol and disguise the name of the community in my manuscript. During the interviews I sensed that some residents had agreed to meet with me because they were pleased to tell part of the "story" of Buchans. Later, in writing, I realized how much context would be lost if I omitted all the identifying features of Buchans' history and geography. Subsequently, I again wrote all respondents and asked their permission to reverse my earlier plan to use a pseudonym for the community. (See Appendix E.) Every respondent agreed to my request—hence my use of the community's proper name. I continued to use pseudonyms for individuals, even though I had discussed with each resident the likelihood of their being recognized in print by friends, colleagues,and neighbours.

Influence of Researcher's Position on Respondents

A final concern was the influence of my role as director of the department (Extension Service) that undertook to collaborate with the community of Buchans. The question was whether at the time of the data collection, residents would be responding to me as past and future director or as doctoral candidate and researcher. My impression was that residents were quite unconcerned with the organizational hierarchy of the Extension Service. Possibly this was because there is little indication of hierarchy in how we interact as staff, a trait that may be common in nonformal learning organizations. I played a carefully confined participant-observer role while on site at the time of the original transmission in Buchans and no one had any reason to call attention to my official position. Moreover, I was the female director of a predominantly male staff for this project. It would not have been self-evident that I

represented a deviation from the norms of male hierarchy in organizations, either during the narrowcasting transmission period or the data collection phase. My overall impression was that people cooperated out of kindness and interest in the research, and my exact status with either of the universities about which I scrupulously said I had current connections was just fuzzy extraneous information.

The issue of my position may be of more concern to the outsider in thinking about my transactions with individuals who were members of the department of which I was director (on leave) at the time of the data collection and to which I expected to return. However, I stress that these interviews were background to this dissertation and mainly used to prepare me for the interviews in Buchans. Nonetheless, it was clear to staff that the circumstances of my life as a doctoral student doing data collection away from my home base was much in contrast to my role as director. I made contact with individuals directly without the services of a secretary. My interview site was the kitchen table of an obliging friend. For good measure, I invited staff to be on their guard by telling them that my position as the department's director had been already been raised as an issue. Finally, at the data collection period, I had been on leave for two years. I was told at the time that references to me among the staff group were often prefaced with "When and if Elayne returns...." Since the department subsequently was closed, staff were more prophetic than they or I knew.

Approach to Data Analysis

I intended to be very systematic about data analysis, knowing that I had large amounts of data to process and many different issues to uncover. Accordingly, I invested in a computer software package for the analysis of text-based data and my own copy of Qualitative Data Analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1984). Several weeks later and no further ahead, I switched to progressive focusing (Parlett and Hamilton, 1977) and the constant comparison method (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), both of which are grounded in naturalistic ways of reflecting on data. To the extent that the latter chapters of this dissertation give evidence, these techniques were more helpful for my particular analysis than Miles and Huberman's matrix displays or Ethnograph's seven levels of nests and overlaps.

I acknowledge that researcher subjectivity is a factor in the type of data analysis I undertook. It is certainly the case that my years as a practitioner in community development coloured my new learnings as a researcher in adult education. The defence of both must lie in the credibility of the conclusions.

The first steps of my data analysis were reconstruction of the events and activities in Buchans which culminated in the community narrowcast. The chapter which follows is that re-construction.

CHAPTER IV

CASE STUDY—45 MILES FROM NOWHERE

Buchans is our community; it's not just a mining town. (Buchans resident)

You have to understand that the people in Buchans were a forgotten tribe, a forgotten race. That's the way all the people here looked upon themselves.... We're so far off the beaten track—somebody once said, 45 miles from nowhere. (Buchans resident in 1985)

Introduction

History of Buchans

The above quotes capture two crucial facets of life in Buchans, a small community deep in the interior of Newfoundland. Buchans is located in a region where a Micmac-Montagnais woodsman had found base metal sulphite deposits just after the turn of the century. The original town was established in previous wilderness, the result of a decision by the American Smelting and Refining Company (ASARCO) to extract the minerals in two large high grade orebodies which had commercial potential in the world metal markets of the 1920s.

ASARCO was no fly-by-night company. As early as 1918, it reported a gross annual income of $390,000,000 (Neary, 1981). To pursue its interest in the Buchans River orebodies, ASARCO entered into partnership with the Anglo Newfoundland Development Company on whose 2000 square mile leasehold land the original ore discovery had been made. From 1927 on, ASARCO owners had their company owned and operated town as one of the expenses necessary to realize profits from this

particular venue of their mining enterprises. They did so through various fluctuations in world market demand and prices for metals; successes and failures in metallurgic development; the depression of the 1930s; World War II; peaks and valleys of energy and capital largely tied to prospecting and discovery of supplemental and new viable orebodies near the original site; and astute management. Remote Buchans might be; for over 50 years, unprofitable it was not.

The history of Buchans encompasses three generations of people. Its labour force came from coastal settings attracted by the hopes of year-round employment. Many were friends and relatives of a few key Newfoundland personnel, lent to ASARCO by the Anglo-Newfoundland Company. The pioneers of Buchans were mainly men with some experience in the exhausted copper mines of Notre Dame Bay, and former fishermen from New Harbour in Trinity Bay and the Avalon Peninsula. The names of some of these men are still evident in Buchans today. All were *outport* men originally. Many learned considerable new skills on the job, were provided with housing as long as their work records and general conduct were acceptable to ASARCO officials, and were introduced to amenities unknown in most rural Newfoundland communities. History notes the arrival of the first woman employee; other women came as wives when the company realized that housing for families was necessary to create a stable workforce.

For many years, Buchans was essentially a closed company-run town, isolated by geography, and socially stratified by employment with the company as either staff or labour, a status easily read by the form and location of housing (downtown/uptown;

single dwelling units/duplexes or quadraplexes). However, once there, residents enjoyed access to such company-provided options as tennis, sailing, and downhill-skiing facilities (to mention three which were foreign to rural Newfoundland), in addition to excellent educational and health services.

In 1984, ASARCO ceased its operations in Buchans. It had exhausted the commercially viable and known orebodies and mothballed the last of its operations. Professional staff of the company were transferred; some fairly recent newcomers with developed skills sought and found employment elsewhere. All of the general labour force were without jobs; significantly many—because of age, limited skills, or skills only useful in highly specialized mine and mill operations such as in Buchans—were without job prospects. The company so pervaded and dominated every aspect of life that there had not been any independent economic diversification over the years of its tenure. As a result, a large portion of Buchans residents faced abandoning the only community they had ever known in favour of relocation, most likely outside the province, in order to find any possibility of new employment.

Many Buchans residents prized the camaraderie and quality of life of the community enough to linger and consider whether they, former miners, mill workers, and general labourers, could create or stimulate economic and employment alternatives that would keep alive the community that was their home. For some people that pause has lengthened into eight years of determined grit to beat all the odds against community initiated economic renewal in an remote location in an already economically-depressed province on the eastern extremity of the country.

From 1985 to 1991, the Extension Service of Memorial University of Newfoundland was linked to those efforts, largely through the department's community development workers. Buchans shares some similarities with communities in Newfoundland and elsewhere which are economically dependent on a non-renewable natural resource but has its own unique history, its own unique people, its own story. This case study of some aspects of the collaboration between the community and the University is only one thin thread of a much larger tale.

Background on the Extension Service

The Extension Service of Memorial University of Newfoundland was an adult education department which gave priority to supporting the learning which adults of rural communities undertook in their role as citizens. The department allied itself with initiatives of residents of rural areas that arose from their impulse to create a better community or to improve the quality of life in that community. Generally, those with whom the division engaged were volunteers with no professional experience in the matter they were beginning to address.

The department started from where the learners were in their understanding of the factors which surrounded the problem which had brought them together. Interventions were structured to be appropriate to the particular learners, but with several principles underlying any specific choices. These were: (1) residents already know more about their community and living in it than the Extension worker does; (2) residents know more about ways to solve their community's problems than they may have initially realized; (3) having people come to a greater appreciation of their

collective common sense in the process of solving a specific problem is the beginning of social change; and (4) in a democratic society, all citizens, including unlettered fishers, have the right to participate in decisions which affect them.

Extension workers were not content specialists, nor were they teachers, but they found and organized resources for learning and played a catalytic role in building an environment in which problem solving and capacity building were paramount. Extension Service had a front line staff of community developers who lived in rural areas and were generally called field workers.

Extension's Entry to Buchans

An Extension Service field worker, Dennis, had the responsibility of providing the services of his department to a section of the province in central Newfoundland. In late 1984, he decided that the long drive to Buchans from his office base in Gander and the known demands of other communities in his region, were no longer sufficient reason to put off an exploratory trip there.

The community's demographic profile did not make it particularly different from other small communities in Newfoundland (with one exception). The town's population was just under 1300, with slightly more men than women. Most families owned their own modest homes, many having bought the houses they formerly rented from ASARCO, when the company pulled up stakes. At three or four people per household, family size tended to be a little smaller than the Newfoundland average and educational levels a little higher. (Sixty-five percent of the adult population had

more than a Grade Nine education.) The average family income was just under $20,000 annually and roughly twice as many men as women were in the paid labour force.[2]

When Dennis made his first visit to Buchans, it was a community known to him from the local media, as it was to all Newfoundlanders, to be suffering the aftermath of losing its single employer, the American mining company, ASARCO. With 75 to 80 percent of its workforce unemployed, the entire community was uncertain about its future. He drove in a westerly direction on the Trans Canada Highway for about 90 minutes, then settled in for another hour's drive into the interior of the Island on a secondary road which dead ends at Buchans. The slow pace necessitated by the deteriorating road gave him ample opportunity to reflect on the effects of the location of Buchans.[3]

Without appointments or any specific agenda, Dennis drove around the community slowly, making little purchases in a couple of the small stores, gathering general impressions. Late in the afternoon, a stop at the offices of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police elicited the name of a woman who was reputedly willing to take boarders at her home for the night. After supper, the husband of his hostess invited Dennis to join him "for a beer" at the Union Hall. There he listened to the talk of other patrons and when there was a break in the conversation, asked questions about their concerns related to the community. The next day, Dennis made impromptu calls. In this way, he introduced himself as the Extension Service field worker to whoever had time to talk at various locations around town—the Post Office,

the Town Council offices, the local development office, the hospital, the high schools, the library, Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) offices, and the local craft store. He introduced himself, and asked more questions about the dimensions of the economic problems besetting the community. Sometimes, he mentioned the services that were available through his office. At day's end, he reversed his tracks and drove the two and a half hours home, with plenty of food for thought.

Although accustomed to long hours in his car en route to and from different communities in his Extension region, a visit to Buchans could not be combined with stops at other communities. The next time Dennis headed for Buchans, he did so with more intention. He went back to visit those who had seemed receptive to using the services he could provide, had more specific conversations with them this time, and continued to make contacts in other places he had not visited the first time around. When he saw the coordinator of the Red Indian Lake Development Association, for example, they discussed how Dennis might assist the Association's activities in pursuing economic regeneration in the community, but came to no definite arrangements that day.

This time when Dennis left, he concluded that if nothing more substantial had come of this visit, he had at least set up a couple of computer and life skills courses. Something might come of the preliminary discussions with a few school teachers about creating an opportunity for intra-community dialogue by some adaption of the process which used the department's portable television transmitter. The teachers had

mentioned the school-based youth group in Buchans which had already been active in thinking and talking about their dismay over the seemingly inevitable prospect of seeing the community where they had grown up, full of hopes and dreams, turn into a ghost town. Dennis had no direct experience in working with the community transmitter but he had listened carefully to other field workers speak of their experiences with it and had discussed it further with colleagues from Extension's Media Unit. Dennis anticipated that he would have to call on the Media Unit where colleagues were available to help develop his thinking about the particular combination of development and communication. If the transmitter was to be used, he would also need them for technical expertise. The task would be extensive, yet he thought it worth exploring. The trip was not wasted, even if he had not found a direct means to assist one or more of the many active committees with their immediate task of economic renewal.

Dennis did not continue as a field worker through much of the work of the Extension Service in Buchans which followed. However, those early trips and a few that he undertook subsequently, laid the groundwork for the media-assisted community development that featured the local residents dialoguing intensely among themselves about the community's past, present, and potential future by using a portable television transmitter to create a signal that could be received on television sets in that community. In late summer of 1990, Dennis expressed no surprise about the progress of events there for two reasons. First, from such beginnings as these came much of the work that the department considered to be community development. Second, his basic belief in the untapped human resources of many rural communities

had been buttressed by first hand exposure to the energy, initiative, and commitment of the Buchans residents for their beleaguered community.

By late December 1984, Dennis and Lloyd (Buchans resident, teacher, and town councillor) had an agreement to collaborate in a community transmitter project that would "expose Buchans to Buchans". Lloyd was to strike a local committee to undertake the great variety of things required to advance such a project. He called upon fellow residents whom he knew to be committed to their community and responsible in following good intentions with investments of time and energy. His choices were "dynamic people that were going to get the job done" (Lloyd).

Buchans residents active in community affairs had grown accustomed to wearing several hats at one time. This led some outsiders to suspect that the community organizational structures were like a pack of cards that could tumble if any one piece was removed. It may be more accurate to say that people in Buchans saw things more simply; they had a commitment to their town, maintaining it, and finding new lifelines to keep it alive. Whether that basic energy was channelled into the Development Association, the Community Futures Committee, the Town Council, the Hospital Board, or umbrella or sub-committees was of more concern for outsiders trying to decide how to organize their interaction with the community than for residents who knew all or any of these are for the same basic purpose.

No widely shared agreement amongst Buchans residents about the identity of which community agency sponsored the transmitter-assisted community development

project in their community was evident. Several individuals had initial brief exploratory conversations about it with Dennis who spoke candidly about the emergent understandings that either he or his colleagues had about linking that means of communication to a development agenda. While there was no consensus about sponsorship, Lloyd understood he had a mandate from the Buchans Town Council (on which he sat as councillor) to coordinate a Buchans Community Television Committee. By January 18, 1985 he reported to the Council on the first meeting about this project, and that a second meeting between the still forming committee, Dennis, and his media specialist colleague, Everett, was scheduled.

Lloyd was also a school teacher and had connections to the Buchans Youth Action Committee. Members were part of the group of high school seniors on whose behalf an application was prepared to solicit funding from the Secretary of State's International Youth Year program for video training. Gerald, another school teacher, was named in the application as the person responsible for that project. Possibly for this reason, Extension's assistant director, Steve, tended to regard the committee which Lloyd coordinated as a school committee, as having a narrower focus than warranted the considerable University resources which would need to be allocated in order that video training for school-aged youth take place utilizing Extension's community transmitter.

Other Extension Staff Visit Buchans

While Dennis was absent from the province for several weeks, confident that at the site, Lloyd was capably exerting the initiative required to lay the groundwork

for a community television project, Extension's office on campus in St. John's started to fret about the extent of the Gander field office's commitments in Buchans. Word was that the local committee in Buchans was charging ahead, with obvious expectations that the necessary resources of Extension would be available when required. To avoid dashing hopes later, Steve (Extension's assistant director) wasted no time in satisfying himself directly about community expectations of the department's role in Buchans. He covered the first 250 miles by plane to the airport nearest to Buchans, where he was joined by Leslie, the field worker from the Extension field region adjacent to Dennis. They then undertook the same two and a half hour car trip to Buchans which was familiar to Dennis. Feeling they had incomplete information, but disinclined to commit so many resources to the project as he understood it, Steve anticipated an uncomfortable meeting.

He was right. The active members of the committee who had been doing all the groundwork in Buchans were disinclined to have Dennis's boss (Steve) and colleague (Leslie) asking them to reflect carefully on possible outcomes and implications of the project in such a manner as to shed doubt on the University's commitment to it. They had a draft of a three-day program ready to show him as evidence they were holding up their end of the collaboration. They were ready, as ready as they could be at that point, given nothing like this had been done before in Buchans.

The Buchans committee made sure that all their members were present to meet with Steve, including members from outside the school-affiliated group who had

not had the time, up to that point, to be present for meetings. No one who attended the meeting with Steve recalls it with any pleasure. The communication appears to have been at cross purposes. The committee talked about the wealth of historical material that was available to them and what a tremendous experience the youth of the community would have in shaping it for viewing by the larger community through the community transmitter. Steve and Leslie asked whether the committee was representative of all aspects of Buchans and expressed concern about the impact such nostalgia would have on people who had decisions to make about relocating to another community. The meeting ended with frayed tempers and little clarity about whether Extension was committed to this project or not. As the meeting was breaking up, the Extension visitors asked if someone would be willing to meet the next day to talk more generally about the town's economic prospects. Two committee members, Rex and Clayton, said they were available.

Steve and Leslie conferred that evening. Their perspective was that they had heard a group talking about creating a community television project not unlike that which was possible by citizen involvement with the community channel of cable operations in communities which had that service. The group was talking about making general programs about Buchans which would be interesting enough that people would watch. That was in line with creating local television but did not use the resource creatively to deal directly with the pressing development issues. What they had not heard was an articulated concern for positioning all the content, indeed all of the intent, of the planned program around the community's economic difficulties.

Yet it was clear that economic concerns were gripping all of the community's families at that time, particularly because that year's Unemployment Insurance period was about to run out. Steve could see the allocation of extensive University resources to addressing a macro and pervasive issue like that, as a principle, but the committee had talked about interviews with the Girl Guides, the Senior Citizens Club, the Map and Compass class. He considered the required departmental resources excessive for that kind of exercise. This was awkward now that the committee had moved so far along in its planning. He would see what he could salvage from the trip by a meatier discussion of more fundamental issues tomorrow.

The following day, the four men—Steve, Leslie and two committee members—met at the Town Council offices. Rex was there because he was the Coordinator of the region's Development Association. He justified adjusting his schedule to accommodate this last minute request because Steve had cast it as a general discussion about the town's economic prospects. As far as Rex was concerned then, he was working. Clayton was available at such short notice for simpler reasons. He was unemployed.

The availability of Rex and Clayton was largely due to happenstance. Their ability to speak to the economic activities affecting the community was anything but coincidental. Both were veterans of every conceivable community committee which had considered Buchans future. Clayton's activism on part of the residents of Buchans went back to his days as a union representative when there was a company with which to negotiate. In one form or another, he had about 15 years experience in representing the interests of various local constituencies. Rex's experience was

briefer, considering he was only 32, but he had similarly been presenting Buchans's case all his adult life, beginning 10 years earlier when he was first hired as the local Development Association's Coordinator. Between them, Rex and Clayton had explored every economic development idea from salmon aquaculture to tourism.

Neither man was pleased with Steve's lack of enthusiasm for the youth training project; but they had other crucial matters about the entire community on their mind. The account of their encounter with Steve and Leslie includes the following:

> Well, things were pretty rough at that first meeting [between Steve, Leslie, and the full Planning and Coordinating Committee]. Steve was very quick. I really didn't like him. He was trying to get out of the meeting and Buchans as fast as he could and the meeting broke up without any kind of consensus. However, he did ask if he could get more background on Buchans and everybody was working the next day aside from Clayton and myself so we volunteered.... So the next morning we wanted to have him learn some more about Buchans. Clayton started off with the history of where we came from, brought it up to around 1970 and I took it from there. (Rex)

> Steve and Leslie were very negative at the meeting, at least I thought they were and I didn't like it one bit. When the meeting was over, it looked like it was a good possibility that this thing wasn't even going to go ahead. It kind of upset us that these two fellows could come in here from St. John's and make a decision you know, just based on bits of information. In his opinion, you could see it: "This place is dead. Why are we [Extension] wasting our time and money here?" So we debated, Rex and myself, that night [following the meeting between Steve, Leslie, and the Planning and Coordinating Committee] whether we were going to take the time to waste on these fellows in the morning or just tell them to butt out. But we said "what the hell", locked the door, figured it would only take a half hour and it'd be all over. (Clayton)

It is quite conceivable that during the first meeting between the full committee and Extension staff (Steve and Leslie) the two groups played to their stereotype of

each other and their respective views of education. The community group could be expected to assume that people from the University involved with adult education would be interested in the "curriculum" of what the television program (the learning event) would be. They also spoke of how much education they themselves were getting about the community as they went about preparing the television programs for the general community viewing, and how the video training had really taught the high school youth about media. Surely, this was the right language to use in talking to University people. They were unaware then that they were dealing with community development workers who contextualize the learning they wish to facilitate in terms of macro development issues and who did not often use the language of education at all.

On the other hand, the University representatives were primed to meet a school-based group, not illogically since eight out of the twelve-person Planning and Coordinating Committee and all the active members were students or teachers, and the ninth member was a night school coordinator for the Adult and Continuing Education Division of the provincial government's Department of Education. The other committee members had more pressing agendas and played less active roles. As Rex says, "I can remember cursing on the [community transmitter project], you know Clayton White and myself, saying how busy we were. I just didn't have time for this, and yet there was this other committee under way."

Two things happened in the subsequent encounter. First, Extension representatives were given a rather thorough exposure to concerns which Buchans

residents were experiencing, and the steps being taken to address the economic plight of the town up to that time. This included the legacy of what those past initiatives meant for the present efforts and active individuals. They were also exposed to key members of the community who were unstinting in their efforts to turn around a deteriorating situation but who worked with limited resources and few useful models. Second, in the meeting (of Steve, Leslie, Clayton and Rex), the community representatives in concert with the now better briefed Extension representatives began to review the town's current circumstances. At some point someone made the link between those circumstances and the possibilities of dialogue which the community transmitter could facilitate.

From there, plans that were already under way between Extension and the committee in Buchans took on extra vigour. The shifts were subtle but significant. The economic concerns of Buchans became the central component of the transmitter project. Discussion, information exchange, and feedback had become as important to the programming as presentations. Although still sketchy, the effort had been re-cast from a media event to a community-wide learning process facilitated by a particular media application.

Nonformal Learning in Buchans

In re-constructing the arenas in which nonformal learning was the intention, there were three sets of events which interlocked or nested. Together these comprised the larger learning process which was one of the goals of the Extension-Buchans collaboration.

Reference has been made to one of these events earlier, the training of youth of the community in video production and community television. This was not a new role for Extension because it had extensive experience in creating a variety of training sessions in video production and media. The portable transmitter was a tool sometimes used in one version of this training. Twenty senior high school students in Buchans were to eventually receive preliminary training in technical aspects of producing video-tape programs. In this case, the final "training" session was the transmission of 24 hours of programming (over three days) about their community via a television signal which could be received on individual home televisions. Preparation took place between February and early May in 1985, with the transmitter on site for only a few days prior to its activation.

The second concentrated situation where learning was a portion of the implicit agenda of the Extension department was the field worker's interaction with the Planning and Co-ordination Committee for the youth training project. This was experienced as a series of conversations and discussions by key members of that committee or as meetings of the committee as a whole. The process which began in Dennis's early visits to Buchans has been re-constructed as a learning event for purposes of this study. It had continued contentiously enough with Leslie's and Steve's first visit to Buchans when the full committee was assembled for the first time to demonstrate by its progress that they were assuming an commitment from the Extension Service.

The third learning event was the three days of intensive community dialogue and reflection about Buchans for the entire community which was facilitated by the portable transmitter in early May, 1985.

Youth Training Project

Even if much of the learning framework for the Extension Service's work in the field was often obscured, or at least not immediately evident in traditional ways, the Service's availability to provide training in media appeared reasonably straightforward to the external observer. However, Extension staff were conscious that what they really did, when assisting various groups with their media needs, was help to individuals in group settings to find their own *voice* in a manner not experienced before. Extension also encouraged community groups to value and trust the legitimacy of the concerns to which their newly valued voice was applied and their latent abilities to take action on them. Sometimes, the Extension Media Unit staff who gave training workshops judged this end to be met; sometimes when the technology itself became too central, they had less certainty about accomplishments.

In Buchans, Dennis had been told of a youth group that already showed evidence of finding and using its voice to change the negative image believed to be held by many people outside Buchans about the community. With encouragement from their high school principal, some had begun to express their concerns about the circumstances of Buchans as a social justice issue. In concrete terms, the youth group were already developing a slide-tape presentation to make to fellow high school groups in other communities, entitled "Buchans: Our Home Town". Awareness of this

initiative and the growing critical consciousness which fed it was a factor in Dennis's decision to encourage this group to facilitate a wider dialogue, but one internal to the community, using Extension Service's portable television transmitter.

As is often the case in using technology to develop and enhance voice, the project began to be referred to as a media project since all externally observable facets of the project used media. The training sessions for youth were to include four week-long video planning and production workshops. Three took place in Buchans, a fourth, on editing and live studio work, was held in Extension's Media Unit in St. John's. During these workshops and in the time between them, young people captured material on video and shaped it as programs or vignettes, and assembled them for viewing on television in individual homes as components of a three-day program using Extension's portable transmitter.

The training sessions were conducted by Dennis's colleagues of the Extension Service's Media Unit, two staff members for the first workshop in March and one staff member for the two other community workshops in April. Constrained by the cost of their time in the community, they worked with as much dispatch as possible. Although the staff members themselves had the capacity to produce video material of broadcast quality, their objective in Buchans was to quickly transfer enough technical knowledge and skills to the youth group that the youth could control the shape of their own programs without a reliance on Extension staff. Accordingly the training they delivered was practical. It included a basic planning time line of pre-production, production, and post-production phases along with script development, and

storyboards; plus the technical aspects of video cameras, lights, and sound technology (camera angles, audio-levels, etc.). Twenty young people who had expressed interest were taught the basics as quickly as possible and encouraged to undertake complete rough productions without becoming too focused on technical refinements.

The youth training project was the most clearly educational activity that Extension Service and the community was undertaking. As a project, it was successful in gaining financial support from the International Youth Year funding program of Secretary of State. Its status for this purpose gave rise to some of the structures (committee, time frame, sponsoring groups, number of participants) which had implications for later understandings and misunderstandings of what the youth training project was to become.

The video-training for youth project, which was capped by a community-wide narrowcasting of the produced material, had a great deal of deceptive simplicity. Some people saw it merely a matter of teaching/acquiring technical skills. Others purport to have understood from the beginning its potential of being a critical venue for broad-based community dialogue about economic futures, community resources, and collective action, all of which bore on the issue of the continuation of Buchans as a community. Indeed, the language used about the intents of the video-training project seemed to have been constant throughout the process, seemingly acquiring a richer, deeper meaning for some, as time progressed. In the absence of prior experience and relevant models, it seems likely that understanding grew as time progressed and the process built.

It was clear, at least in the application form to Secretary of State, that the sponsoring committee consisted mainly of high school teachers and students from both of Buchans' schools, and that "other sectors" of the community, such as the Development Association, municipal government, union, and churches were also to be involved. The early discussions and meetings concerning this project were largely confined to the school-based group, even though a number of community leaders knew of and supported the effort by lending their name, if not their time, to its development in the early stages.

The school-based group was key for several reasons. First, it provided the initiative which brought the project into being, possibly because its members were not as engrossed in the various community committees about the future of Buchans and possibly because it represented the first group in Buchans to have a sense of the contribution that the idea potentially held for the town's development issues.

Their role on the Planning and Coordinating Committee was significant in another way because this group's members began to make choices about the kind of content to be captured and presented to the larger community. As managers and planners of the project, they made the initial decisions about what content fell under the umbrella of "showing Buchans to Buchans", and drew up a draft program outline. They were sensitive to the need to have a program with broad appeal, and were willing to work experimentally without models, and with only limited access to advice and guidance of the Extension Service. Later, the generation of pieces of the program was also undertaken by the students as part of their training and by others who

became active in the committee. While the boundaries and membership of this committee were never crystalline, the arrangement had the benefit of being open to new entrants, differing levels of engagement, and responsive to the planning circumstances that arose.

BCTV Planning and Coordinating Committee

One of the significant learning activities of this case study of community nonformal learning was the interaction between the field workers and media specialists of the Extension Service and the Planning and Coordinating Committee for Buchans Community Television (BCTV) project. (The latter is the name the community group gave to the project of preparing taped and live video programming to be narrowcast in the community.)

The interaction began simply enough with a meeting between the still small and largely school-derived group and three of Extension's staff to talk about the range of experiences of other communities where the transmitter had been used. The staff members were Walter, a field worker who had been involved in two previous efforts using narrowcasting; one of Extension's media specialists, Everett, who had actively participated in six or seven versions of media-assisted community development; and Dennis.

The first meeting was generally pragmatic in tone and intent. The Extension team's role was to provide a relatively comprehensive overview of the nature of the operation, the technical aspects (of which there were many), and the time and effort

a narrowcasting project demanded of both the community and the department. They described the formats which had appeared useful in other communities and their personal observations of the variable impact of narrowcasting projects in other settings and circumstances in Newfoundland.

The Extension staff were careful not to exaggerate or even be too specific about outcomes and impacts. They knew that the dynamics in each community are always complex enough to defy simple input-output predictions or formulas and that differing motivations lay behind each use of the transmitter up to that time. These early meetings with Extension staff were an opportunity for committee members to grapple with the ramifications of such a project, as well as to develop a sense of its usefulness and potential. However, the time constraints dictated an emphasis on practicalities and concreteness. Thoughts about introducing a new form of community dialogue were sandwiched between consideration of which location in the community had enough electrical outlets so that a blown fuse would not take everything off the air, and discussions of where Extension staff could be billeted. The explicit focus was on how to get the job done. Even with this emphasis, there were still many tasks and procedures which did not make their way onto the agenda of this particular set of preliminary meetings.

The sessions between this committee and Leslie (Extension Service field worker) were of a different nature. They began with the meeting Steve (Extension's assistant director) had precipitated with the committee in Buchans in Dennis's absence, and which Leslie had attended at Steve's request. When Dennis indicated

his intention to resign from the department, Steve asked Leslie to be the Extension representative in taking the community transmitter project in Buchans to completion. Because he had accompanied Steve to that initial meeting, Leslie had implicitly begun his relationship to the larger group by asking them to convince him that the project was worthwhile.

Leslie was also a participant in the sub-committee meeting the following day in which Clayton and Rex spoke at length about the kind of community they believed Buchans to be. In this meeting, Leslie heard about the tenacious but slow progress that had been made in creating a stable base for the community. He was made aware, too, of the difficulty of maintaining energies for the profound change the community had to undertake in moving from a company town where all direction flowed from the employer, to becoming a self-reliant community, creating and directing its own future. He learned directly of the uncertainty being experienced by families who were being forced to make decisions about leaving, and the heartache and wrench this was to residents for whom Buchans was a home where they wanted, as Clayton once expressed it, to "live, love and die."

Here, too, Leslie was exposed to two of the town's leaders who had a long term commitment to the community, whose personal futures were dependent on the outcomes of the economic development initiatives they had begun and were nurturing, and who very much felt the responsibility and audacity of giving leadership to an effort which had more than the usual strikes against it, and which would affect so many of the lives of their friends and neighbours. The strikes against ranged from

the disadvantages of Buchans' location to the assumption of many that the plight of Buchans was all that could be expected of a mining town. Leslie and Steve were told too, about the Buchans Youth Action Committee, a group which was trying to counteract the implicit bias about Buchans being just a mining town—not a community—by taking a slide-tape presentation about the regard and attachment they had to their community into youth meetings and conferences outside Buchans. Clayton and Rex spoke of groups of community representatives undertaking seven hour drives in a packed car to and from St. John's to save on airfares to meet with provincial government politicians and bureaucrats, late nights of strategizing in small hotel rooms after one meeting before going on to another, and trips to Ottawa to meet federal officials. They spoke, too, of the shift in their own attitudes during these activities:

> So we made the trek into the Confederation Building [provincial government building] to see the boys [cabinet ministers and civil servants]. First going off, we weren't really prepared for a meeting. We just went in and sat down and kind of asked "Well, what are you boys going to do for us?" I remember Neil Windsor [Minister of Development] telling us it was time for us to go and learn how to help ourselves. He made us really angry, really angry. We got really upset with him.... Coming home in the car, we spent about three hours cursing Neil and Hal Andrews [President of Treasury Board]. We picked those fellows apart. Then in the other three hours, we decided if we were going to stay at this, we had to kind of change our tactics. So once again we got all the groups in Buchans together and formed the Buchans Joint Committee, we called it at that time.... Once the Province, the Peckford Government saw what we were doing, that we were interested in trying to help ourselves, that we weren't going bawling and screeching to them all the time...their Resource Policy Committee helped us with some funds to do a study. (Clayton)

Clayton and Rex told Steve and Leslie of subsequent developments. These included the number of local committees, the attempts to get funding from the Local

Economic Assistance Development (LEAD) program of Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) to develop a realistic development plan for the community, and of stumbling across the information that the federal government had expressed an election intent to put a penitentiary in the province. They detailed, too, work with their federal representative to pursue that idea for Buchans, of yet another meeting in St. John's, this time with Canada Works people (another CEIC program) where they learned of the Industrial Adjustment Service (IAS) program, and subsequently the Modified Industry Labour Adjustment Program (MILAP) for older workers; hence more meetings, more planning. They spoke of the difficulty of keeping the community informed about the exact nature of the development plans afoot, of how quickly rumours were started, how hard it was for even some of the very committed and involved community residents to keep in touch with the bigger picture of the town's prospects. They acknowledged the stress, tension, and pressure among community residents which was intensifying as no jobs materialized for families now out of work for as long as a year. They related how people were clinging on, reluctant to abandon their homes, uncertain of the chances of new employment in Buchans, but knowing they had to decide to stay or leave no later than the end of the school year.

It was a long meeting. Clayton picks up the tale again:

> [We] figured it'd only take a half hour and it'd be all over.... We felt that Steve was just another one of those fellows that had the attitude that was prevalent in the province at the time—"Look you fellows were a mining community, you knew this was going to happen, why don't you just take your losses, pack up and get out?" They knew we weren't too friendly towards them but when we got talking the next day we gave them a lot of information. And we spent the whole day with them, although we never set out to convince him to do a community television project.... It was good for us 'cause it was the first time we ever sat

> down with anyone and talked about what we were trying to do and all our reasons for doing it. (Clayton)

In essence, the task for Leslie's five subsequent trips to Buchans to assist the Planning and Coordinating Committee with the Buchans community television project was drawn from this background. Their common explicit goal was to have the television project function primarily as an instrument which served the development agenda of the community through the type and balance of material which was to be narrowcast. Leslie also hoped to engage the committee itself in a capacity building exercise as a group working on behalf of the community. Five years later, the memories of these meetings were still strong for committee members.

> We had a winter of meetings about the T.V. We had meetings over in the Public School and we had meetings in St. Theresa's [the Catholic School]. Oh my heavens, that winter was hectic, meeting with Leslie, trying, you know, to get everything together. (Mildred)

> We went from total confusion through a lot of meetings with the Extension Service and among ourselves. We finally came up with what we figured people would like to learn, not just what we wanted them to learn. (Calvin)

> First we had meetings weekly, then it was meetings daily. If it wasn't the whole group, it was sub-groups.... I can't say we knew exactly what we were doing at the beginning...but as we went on and got more into it...we thought, "Gee we can really use this thing, probably more seriously than when we set out, and in more ways than even MUN [Memorial University of Newfoundland] Extension thinks." (Ruby)

> I can remember some nights being there [at the meetings] 'til 11:30, 12 o'clock maybe. We would just be trying to get things organized, sorted out and then we'd break off because we got into discussions of what Buchans is, and what we're trying to do here. We'd talk about what's happening to the community, what the community is like, how it can be improved, you know, those kind of things. (Janet)

> The whole thing had to be re-developed through these sensitivity sessions, I called them, with Leslie Baker...he was trying to get us to put into words...why we just didn't pack up and leave, why it was

important to us to keep this town going, why we were sacrificing for this. He taught us to analyze our decisions and put reasons behind what we were doing, gave us an ability to argue better with ourselves, convince ourselves a little better what we were doing and to tell other people what we were trying to do. (Clayton)

The agenda for two days of programming had already been set. But in Leslie Baker's meetings with the committee over the next three months, every piece of that agenda and every piece of the programs they had planned to have on were questioned. It wasn't because he didn't believe it was important but because he felt that we had to know why we were doing these types of programs. From that questioning grew, oh I guess, three or four agendas that got torn up before one was eventually settled on by us all. (Gerald)

I can see Leslie now, working with us—long sessions at a blackboard, five or six hours every evening. Sometimes Leslie would be here for a week.... He didn't implant himself in our committee or try to tell us what should be done but he drew out of us things we hadn't thought of. (Ruby)

These [meetings] were useful to us. Speaking for myself, in terms of developing my own leadership style, it was tremendously helpful. I saw a lot of things happen through the planning process that Leslie used. I saw things achieved that I would not have been able to achieve, that I didn't think anyone could achieve. So I studied the methods a lot and it paid off for me later. (Rex)

Leslie has his own memories of those meetings and those times.

It sounds funny to talk to you [about what I was trying to do] 'cause so much is straight out of the books almost.... I try to get them to state their basic goal or mission. Then I help the Chair try to draw people into it to watch for people who don't seem in.... I'm sort of mechanical. I like to say "If this is the problem, let's look at it through these five problem solving stages," or whatever. "Of the things you said you wanted to do, which are most important? Which could you give up? Okay if we have our goal, what things do we need to do to maintain us as group to put this into action?"...I try to encourage people to think in new ways. Say someone was trying to save a fish plant because they got this building. I might say "Why should we save it as a fishplant? Why not as something else?" In discussing that they might start to realize that what they were really looking for was broader economic development.... I don't know how we got to talking about the fisheries when what you asked me about was Buchans.... Another bias that I have is in trying to make committees aware of themselves as a group

> and as a group representing the community. "Are we a group that works best by fighting or do we have a way to deal with our conflicts? Are we representative of the community? Which elements of it do we represent?" (Leslie)

Leslie goes on to speak in general about his assessment of the committee with which he worked in Buchans and how he adjusted his role in relation to that assessment.

> They were pretty together and they weren't easily threatened by what I'd say. It was like a bunch of equals working together.... I often think of it like a train that's moving along and I get on board and help stoke up the engine a little better at this moment because they need an extra push to get over a hill. They probably would have got there anyhow but I was just making it a bit faster or easier...helping them learn something different. Even without me the train would've kept going, you know.... I usually figure people know how to do things.... It was a pretty sophisticated group in Buchans. When they decided what to do, they could get it done. They were very competent in that way.

I asked Leslie to be more specific about his activities related to the Planning and Coordinating Committee. The task was to decide how to use the opportunity for an intensive three day dialogue amongst community members in the best interest of the community's main concern—economic survival. That, however, was a task for which Leslie was equipped only in general terms. He had a long history of working in a department which used media in nonformal rural development but he had no direct experience in using a portable transmitter in a development context in which the dialogue would be internal to the community and structured by it. He had colleagues both in the field and in the Media Unit whom he could consult about their experiences with this and other media in community development situations, but this situation was new and unique. The community also had no direct experience with the

medium but it could bring a sense of the parts and wholeness of their community in a manner in which no outsider could. The Media Unit staff had the technical background in media and experience in using media with other rural groups concerned about issues in their communities. The outcome would depend on meshing what the department did know about media and development with a community's sense of what was important to share in order to make individual and collective decisions about the future of their community.

The major task of the committee, then, was to design and develop a community television project, a task which was entirely new for all participants. In the process of participating in that search, Leslie could bring his experience about planning, problem solving, group dynamics, and values clarification. The committee brought their experiences from working in other community contexts in Buchans as well.

Learning at the Community Level

The other community learning event was the viewing and discussion of 24 hours of live and pre-taped material about various aspects of the community and its circumstances. This viewing was done through home television sets in each household in Buchans tuned to pick up a signal which was generated by a low-powered television transmitter that Extension Service had brought to the community for this purpose. The program was compacted into three consecutive days, and ran from 4:00 p.m. to 12 midnight on each. The content of the 24 hours of materials was the outcome of a six-month process by the local BCTV Planning and Coordinating Committee. It had

selected ideas and created programs from them to serve an overall purpose of encouraging reflection on the short-term and long-term future of their community and opportunities for employment creation. The mix of programming for each day's transmission took into account the need to balance light and serious content to attract and retain viewers.

On the first evening, curiosity was high. A substantial number of the community knew that Buchans Community Television (BCTV) was scheduled because they had been involved in some way in the preparation of the packaged video materials or had asked to be a part of the programs that were to go live. Twenty families had one of their older children participating in training for the production of video programs and technical aspects of transmitting them. These youth had taped between 15-18 short programs (not all of which were eventually narrowcast).

As detailed in the previous section, about a dozen people had been active through the planning committee process in suggesting topics as well as working on individual programs as producers or interviewers and sometimes both. Some members of the Planning and Coordinating Committee had other community groups and organizations to whom they reported.

Somewhere between 35 to 45 people in the community had been interviewed or featured in pre-taped programs. Twenty-five or more had been asked to be part of the entertainment and talent portion of the overall program. Another 15 were to contribute to panels which would be transmitted live to allow for viewer questions.

Of the 350 or so households in Buchans, between 120 and 150 had a family member directly involved in some way. If a household member was not involved, the chances were very high that one or more members knew someone who was.

Staff from Extension's Media Unit had been evident in Buchans checking on technical matters. A simple black and white flyer, developed by the Planning and Coordinating Committee, with basic information about the Buchans Television Project had been distributed to each household in the community. "Everyone" knew something was going to happen. No one knew quite what.

If curiosity was high, a sense of what to expect was low. Residents tuned their television sets to a channel which had been empty up to that day. At 4:00 p.m., Buchans Community Television flickered into life. The event began with just that phrase superimposed over videotaped shots of Buchans, with the provincial anthem being sung in the background. The shots were simple enough and familiar: the mine head, the company offices, the *glory hole* (abandoned by definition), the meticulously laid out streets, the churches, schools, hospital, recreation centre, library, Union Hall, the stores, bank, post office, two restaurants, and a take-out/snack bar—a visual overview of the physical structures of Buchans.

The scene changed then to an indoors room where about twenty-five casually dressed people, adults and high school students, recognizable (with one exception) as community residents faced the camera. Five people (four adults, one youth) were seated, one beside the other, at cloth-covered tables, while the rest stood behind.

Lloyd, began speaking directly into the camera, welcoming viewers to an "exciting three days of Buchans Community Television." He briefly said that the TV program had resulted from the efforts of a great many people in Buchans, with assistance from the Extension Service of Memorial University. The people who were on the screen were some of many from the community which had brought the event into being. He went on to acknowledge each by name and a phrase or two about their contribution:

> We have some of the students here who were involved in the operation of the cameras and the videotaping that has been done around town. You've probably seem them around town with cameras and videotape machines and things like that. Mrs. Bessie Merrigan here is going to be responsible along with her husband for the news. Peter who's standing behind her was involved with the entertainment. (We'll see lots of that.) Next, Mrs. Helen O'Brien—involved with the entertainment section. As we go on, there's Brenda Carter who's been involved with *Buchans Today*, a program that will be very interesting that you'll see parts of each day. Then Norma and Sandy—they've been involved with some of the panels and so on and the various issues that we will be discussing over the next three days. And then some more of the students and fellows that have been working in the planning—Ern Noseworthy involved in a lot of the committees [about Buchans future], with this committee [transmitter project] and with some of the other things that have been done.... Don Squires who has been doing and helping the students with some of their videotaping.

In this introduction, Lloyd acknowledged that planning for the event had been with the assistance of Leslie Baker of the Extension Service of Memorial University. "Leslie has worked very closely with us in the planning of this project." Lloyd went on to release the assembled group to do the tasks which were awaiting them. Since the technology was simple (one camera on the entire group) and the narrowcast live, the noise and movements of the few moments it took the group to leave the "set" and those left to pull their chairs closer to the table, clear their throats, and take deep breaths were all part of the images received in each living room.

Lloyd then turned to the people seated with him at the table who were "to give some more information on the project." He identified three as local members of the Planning and Coordinating Committee (including Claude, representing the youth of the community) and the fourth, as Everett Hodder, Head of the (Extension Service, Memorial) University Media Unit. One after the other, with Everett last, each spoke briefly of their involvement, and the goals and objectives of the program. No one had notes; they sometimes turned to look at Lloyd while answering his questions as would be natural in conversation and only sometimes remembered to look and speak to the camera. The words were of anticipation and hope about the value and enjoyment of the event, even while faces were sombre and still. As the camera moved across the group or focused on Lloyd in his role as Chair, a large hand-printed local telephone number (672-3358) was plainly visible at the centre of the table.

> First, the context was established and preliminaries carried out.
>
> We are very pleased to have the youth so involved in this project...funding from the Secretary of State...finally going ahead with our Buchans Community television project...to continue to keep the people of Buchans informed...many development possibilities are being looked at...involving the community...a unified effort...reaffirm our positive attitude about keeping our community alive...not a television event, using television to bring Buchans to ourselves...speed up communications in the community...content and control of television has been given to the people of Buchans.

Lloyd invited people to use the displayed telephone number to call into the program to report on "the reception [of the signal]" and what they were expecting from the program.

Everett (Extension staff member) began to field the incoming calls via a speaker phone that was on the table. As residents called, their voices went live over the air and Lloyd Squires was shown marking the locations from which the calls came on a map of the community. Everett was casual and informal, chatting briefly to each caller, and to the committee member seated next to him. The camera switched between Everett and the community map where the dots which indicated the locations in the community from which the calls had been received grew gradually in number and distribution until it was evident that all sections of the community were receiving a clear signal.

Some callers identified themselves by name, some simply gave the area of town from which they were calling ("right across from the Catholic church", "in the trailer court", "up around the Old Buchans area", "up around the back of Mr. Norman's place", "Main Street down from the Food Centre", "straight across from the Union Hall") and commented about picture and sound reception ("a little bit of shadow", "really getting it good", "perfect after I used the fine tuner"). After speaking to several residents himself, Everett asked Gerald to take the next call. From then on, the conversations about reception and expectations were between Gerald and Claude (community residents) on camera and residents who were viewing. This established a pattern of interaction between the community residents in front of the camera and community residents who were viewing at home. Claude's involvement was an indicator that the youth members of the committee were full participants.

Gerald and Claude then moved to run down the schedule of programs which viewers could expect over the next three days. They said they were unable to give precise times for the schedule because they could not anticipate how long segments which invited participation from viewers via telephone would take. They outlined the sequence of programs and gave brief descriptions of those that required elaboration.

The schedule for each day had basic similarities. During the first few hours after "sign on" in the late afternoon, the material of *Buchans Today* was narrowcast. In the main, this consisted of profiles of various community organizations and interviews with town residents on a variety of topics. Examples of programming in this section include features on the Boys and Girls Club, the Loyal Orange Benevolent Association, school drama activities, the Senior Citizen's Club, the Girl Guides, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, the local library and so on. Interviews featured the first woman of Buchans, the Chair of the Recreation Commission, two older residents reminiscing about their days in the surrounding countryside as trappers, local hobbyists, and others who had historical or unique perspectives on past or present life in Buchans. All of this material had been pre-taped by the youth as part of their training in video production, with either youth or adults from the community being pressed into service as interviewers.

This was followed by a shorter section which was variously a bingo game in which people could participate by playing from home with "proceeds" to go the Boys and Girls Club, the school choir, a children's story read to a group of children in the bare studio, a panel of Buchans clergy and an interview with the provincial

government member who represented the district in which Buchans was located. Again, faces and voices were known as being from the community.

In the early evening of each day's programming, a particularly local version of evening news was included. The news consisted of items on the winners of the school district Science Fair, birthday greetings, a business report, the offerings of the community education agency, weather, Winter Recreation awards, sports, a scholarship recipient, the removal of the mine head (something of a local land mark and symbolic of the end of mining as the community's raison d'être) and so on. Each evening the news which included pre-taped clips was read by a Grade 12 girl who had been one of the youth members of the overall planning committee.

The "prime time" hours from around 7:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. were devoted to: information, commentary, discussion, reporting, and questioning about the economic circumstances of the community; the initiatives which had been launched or were being considered by various community action groups; the current status of these initiatives and some of their intricacies. These sessions on short-term and long-term prospects for community economic rejuvenation and implications for employment prospects took the form of panel discussions which were structured by members of the community group that had taken responsibility for a particular economic venture.

These panels revealed three initiatives to be paramount: (1) a federally funded labour adjustment program which fostered re-training, relocation, and income supplements to certain categories of older workers (MILAP); (2) the beginning of a

lobbying effort to have Buchans selected for the location of a federal penitentiary which had been promised to Newfoundland in the last federal election; and (3) a community development corporation to pursue a variety of short and long-term possibilities. The latter included further mining operations, the acquisition and refurbishing of certain ASARCO facilities either for community or new business use, salmon enhancement/aquaculture on the nearby Exploit's River, designation of the local hospital as an acute care facility, possibilities under the Canada Works program, and forestry silviculture.

Generally there were two major panels each evening, varying somewhat in representation according to the topic being discussed. In some instances, the local committee members augmented their comments and information by inviting the contribution of key outsiders. In this way, the panel on the prison included a telephone interview with the Mayor of Springhill, who represented another mining community that had found some respite from its economic woes by attracting a federal penitentiary. This interview went "live" over the air as did a debate on the pros and cons of the same issue conducted by high school youth. The province's chief geologist had responded to an invitation to be present in person as part of the panel on mineral exploration, as did two officials of CEIC to give details on the Modified Industry Labour Adjustment Program and the Industrial Adjustment Service of their department.

Nevertheless, all of the sessions on economic futures were developed by local community members and were in the form of status reports to the larger community

of what progress they had made. The Planning and Coordinating Committee hoped to provide fairly complete information for community residents to assist in the decisions which faced them and at the end of each panel invited residents to call into the panel and make their comments and questions part of the overall program.

Community residents generally sought more clarification and more detail. Unemployed for an extended period, needing to come to terms with the re-location question as a route to finding new employment, reluctant to abandon the community which was their home, without attractive alternatives, members of households had pointed questions for those who had been working on their behalf:

> Chair of panel: We have a caller. Hello caller, are you there?
>
> Community resident: Yes, if Mr. Courage would answer please. Keith, regarding the salmon enhancement that's going to take place up at Noel Paul's Brook, do you have any date or even a tentative date when this work will be starting?
>
> Keith: Yes, we do. Some of the hiring for the biological crew will take place in the middle of May, and the hiring for the carpentry and the cement work will start around the first of June.
>
> Community resident: Now applying for a job at this site, what procedure would an applicant have to go through to apply for a job?
>
> Keith: As long as you are registered with [Canada] Manpower for now or with the committee which John spoke of earlier, you are registered for this job.
>
> Caller: Now, will you clarify something else for me. There are rumours going around that there'll be no [Unemployment Insurance] stamps involved in this job. Is this just a rumour or are there stamps involved?
>
> Keith: There will be fairly well paid jobs. Wage rates will start from $250...that's a week and it is stamps. I think the minimum [wage] is $7.00 and I think it's a forty hour week—with UIC [Unemployment Insurance Commission] benefits and stamps.

Caller: Now applying for this job, would an applicant's Unemployment [Insurance] have to be run out, or can anyone apply?

Keith: I asked that question specifically at a meeting we were at in Grand Falls last Tuesday with [officials of the provincial department of] Fisheries and CEIC. They said they are looking for qualified carpenters and good labourers. They have a job that's got to be done in a short period of time and so they are going to be hiring the best qualified people. The only thing we've been guaranteed [is] a minimum of 20 out of 28 jobs.

A second shorter exchange is as follows:

Community resident: I would like to ask Sandy something. Some individuals have been looking at setting up their own businesses. Do you think there will be any financial assistance to people in this area from this Development Corporation you were talking about?

Sandy: If we can get the Development Corporation in place, aiding people in setting up small businesses and things like that will be one of the things we will be looking at.

Community resident: What happens if we don't get the Development Corporation?

Sandy: I'm going to think positive. We will get the Development Corporation.

The panel presentations were intense and focused on core employment concerns relevant to all households. Together, they gave an overview of the prospects that would create the basis for the future of Buchans, if such were possible. The Planning and Coordinating Committee chose to provide some change of pace between the two panels on economic futures, although their choice of material was allied to their encouragement of viewers to think seriously about their community. Hence the material chosen for insertion between the economic panels on different nights included: a historical account of Buchans by a local resident; a video-taped

presentation of the Youth Action Committee giving their slide-tape showing the depth of feeling and attachment they had for their home community and their concern for its continuation to a youth group in another community; and stories and tales from a tiny community (Pigeon Inlet) which had grown up adjacent to Buchans in defiance of ASARCO's regimented policy to allow only company-constructed housing for its employees.

Each evening ended with *Entertainment Tonight* which showcased the talents of local residents. Roughly a hour to an hour and a half duration, the final portion of each day's programming was a celebration of music and song. The particular fare varied, but included a young woman who had recently been awarded the province's highest distinction for musical promise; popular country and rock tunes played by a local band; individuals singing union songs which had been written in Buchans as morale boosters on past occasions when labour strikes were ongoing (Narvaez, 1986); well known and familiar traditional Newfoundland folk songs, and some relatively unknown compositions and ballads which were part of the oral tradition of a community from which some residents had originated; and classics played on the flute. Sometimes the singer was as important as the song, such as when the woman known mainly at the time for her cleaning duties at one of the local schools was revealed to have a wonderful singing voice, or when a retired miner demonstrated sparkle and verve in a rendition of the songs he had chosen. Late night local news generally finished a particular day's programming.

The learning sites were the 350 or so homes of Buchans. The basis of the initial viewing group was the family. A informal telephone poll carried out at random times during the narrowcasting period recorded all affirmative replies to queries about whether the home television was tuned to the impromptu, local channel. Five years later, most community residents assume that everyone watched. The lowest estimate offered was "somewheres between 85 and 90 percent."

> Everyone headed for their television sets. You know, they wanted to see their friends on TV. (Mildred)

> I didn't see anybody on the streets from 4 'til 12, I'll tell you that. Stores probably closed down. I don't know. But it was a major event in town, especially after people saw the format. (Bruce)

> When that thing was on for three days, you could go around this town and not see anyone. There wasn't a soul that wasn't watching it. (Aubrey)

> I was in Grand Falls [a service centre community 60 miles away], the wife and I were that day. When we were got on the Buchans road coming up, we had the road to ourselves. The wife mentioned to me "Not many a car this evening." I said "No, and there's a good reason for why. This is the evening the TV program starts. Everyone else is cuddled home waiting for it to come on." You know we met one car going down that whole road and that was Mr. French taking his grandchild down to the hospital for to see her grandmother. (Wayne)

> There was one guy I remember in particular. He used to make sure he had his supper eaten, and he'd shave and put on a clean shirt and tie. He'd sit down in his easy chair with his pack of cigarettes and his lighter and he'd stay there until the thing was over that night. (Janet)

> And of course, meals changed in homes. The time of the supper hour changed. Cooking was done differently because it had to accommodate the TV at four [o'clock]. People were talking about how all the meals would be arranged around the TV.... And the little ones were allowed to stay up. They didn't want to miss anything either. When the entertainment was all over, the little ones went to bed. (Mildred)

> The first night that we were on [a particular committee doing its report], we left and went to the club for a beer. We drove from there [makeshift studio] right through the town and even the kids weren't out on the street. There was nobody walking. The town was empty. It was

like a ghost town. For the three nights it was on...the town for any other reason was dead. When we got to the club, everyone there was also watching Buchans on TV. (Clayton)

Moms were watching, watching a grandchild, a daughter, a son-in-law.... Where the town is so small and you had appearing local talent, the schools, the different panels...the community television thing touched everything in the town that could be of some interest to somebody.... So obviously you're going to watch your friend, your cousin.... Where the town is so small, it touched almost everybody.... Through everybody being involved in it, that's the reason why it got so much viewing. (Calvin)

People around town say "I turned on my TV today 4:00 p.m. and I never turned if off 'til it was all over that night." (Gus)

We watched it all, to tell the truth. (Dora)

We did statistics...I can remember doing a poll "What channel do you have on your TV?" It was a hundred percent. (Ruby)

An allied issue is the portion of the total program which was watched by specific sectors of the population. Seventeen of twenty persons from the community who were formally interviewed for this research and a dozen or so spoken to informally stated that they watched everything. Everyone interviewed assumed that most of the community saw the great proportion of the 24 hours. However, this impression can be tempered by a number of exceptions. While some programming had been developed with children in mind, most of the programming assumed a youth or adult viewer. Few eight-year-olds were likely to be drawn to listening to the mayor on television, although some older children were interested to see community leaders speak to the substance of their particular responsibility for the first time. A small number of people had jobs that prevented them from watching the beginning programs in the late afternoon of each day. Meals were prepared, and in some homes, children's bedtimes still supervised. Some people involved in the transmission were

too busy tending to immediate matters connected with the telecast to watch anything but short snatches. Still, all evidence points to the involvement of a substantial portion of the community for extended periods of time.

In recasting the 24 hours of narrowcasting as a learning event, "viewership" was the most basic level of participation. Participation rather than attendance is being used as the analogy. The event's intention was to provide individuals and families with perspective and information on which to base a decision which pre-dated BCTV itself and which had pre-occupied residents of the community for some time. The event was planned on the assumption that the information-action ratio (Postman, 1985) would be high.

A number of levels of degrees of participation can also be assumed. As mentioned earlier, some adults participated while tending to other responsibilities such as caring for young children, preparing the evening meal, and doing household chores. Some watched it all. "I watched every hour of it. The wife watched it right through, too...I even had my tea sitting in the chair watching the program. We didn't want to miss a thing, you see." A number of the more curious and mobile strayed in and out of the makeshift "studio", alternating between watching from home, or watching the programs go live from the studio. The number became larger every night as residents realized they were welcome to watch from the studio. Some responded to the invitation to call the on-air phone line with questions or comments about the subject then being discussed, and became part of the live programs.

It also appears that intensity, or at the very least, attention, increased over the three days. Certainly, on Day One, some people began to watch out of idle curiosity, either to see themselves, their family members or people familiar to them. Some watched because they had family members or friends who had been involved technically. Some may have watched because they were enjoying a clearer picture than was available on the two network channels available to them. On Day Two there was an air of both thoughtfulness and anticipation. By Day Three, everyone was riveted to their television sets. Most of the community were pulled into the exercise by the combination of pre-packaged and live material; the balance between "hard" information about the economic options and "soft" information about key individuals, events and community organizations in the community's past and present; a chance to create meaningful cultural expression; and the evident engagement of at least three generations of residents. Even some residents who participated in the overall planning of the event and had inklings of the potential were surprised about the extent to which their intentions were realized. Immediately after the three days of Buchans Community Television, one highly involved person commented that "the project was successful in bringing us together as a community...it was successful beyond my wildest dreams, beyond my wildest expectations."

Events in Buchans Before and After May 1985

The community television project was undertaken as a means of assisting a community to collectively create and examine a common base of information and to gauge economic alternatives and human resources, including the extent of self-determination, to implement these alternatives. It was by no means the first

discussion of an alternative future for Buchans, although the community was more broadly engaged through it than by prior initiatives.

Long before 1985 when the Extension Service became involved with activities of the community, there had been groundwork for what was to follow. In 1973 a strike of Local 5457, United Steel Workers of America against ASARCO (Buchans Unit), which was largely precipitated by growing unease about the future of the town, led the provincial government to establish the Dyer Industrial Commission. Although its main mission was to settle the labour dispute, among its recommendations was one that urged the establishment of structures to explore economic alternatives to mining for Buchans (Dyer, 1974).

The Buchans Task Force followed on the heels of the Dyer Commission and presented the provincial government with an "action plan designed to ensure the future viability of the Town" (Langdon, 1976, p. vii). It started with the premise that the mining operations would cease within the decade. This task force had strong representation from the community, as did each of its seven subcommittees, each of which were structured around an economic issue or option (tourism, forestry and agriculture, and industrial development, to name three). The final report stated:

> Buchans is unlike some other Canadian mining towns which are characterized by a short-term, highly transient population and labour force, for whom the town, as a place of residence, has instrumental rather than intrinsic meaning and value.... Buchans is a rooted social community, whose residents have a great deal of attachment to it, and a commitment to a future for it. (Langdon, 1976, p. 29-30)

However, there was little government response to this report, a neglect which led the community to create the Buchans Action Committee. This Committee was a body whose own activities were centred as much on having the government act on the recommendations of the Task Force as to build on local planning. However, preliminary discussions on a community-based local development corporation originated in this committee.

By the time the mine officially and finally closed on August 31, 1984, the Town Council had established the Buchans Joint Committee as the umbrella committee of the community. With representatives from all community constituencies and financial assistance from the federal Industrial Adjustment Service program, the Joint Committee began a number of community projects such as tree planting and community improvement which provided short-term employment. The precedent of sub-committees structured around specific economic issues established during the Task Force days was maintained. The Joint Committee became the breeding ground for community activism around economic alternatives and a place where economic ideas were discussed and weighed.

The 1984 federal election campaign had indicated that a federal penitentiary would be "delivered" to Newfoundland. At one point, the Liberal member for the federal district in which Buchans was located, said that such a facility was being considered for a community 60 miles from Buchans. When the results of that election left the party (Liberal) who made such promises in the Opposition, these thoughts might have withered except for the drive of the Buchans Joint Committee. The

Committee decided to explore the pros and cons of a prison option for Buchans with intensity and vigour, and did so with active encouragement from the provincial government, particularly the Ministers of the Departments of Justice and Development.

Just after the 1984 election, Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) officials who were working with the community, alerted members of the Buchans Joint Committee to the existence of the Modified Industry Labour Adjustment Program (MILAP) which had a number of features related to retraining, relocating and income supplementation for older workers such as those affected by industry failure. Level One of MILAP provided funding for community groups to investigate how significant a factor such a program would be in economic re-adjustment for a stricken community and had "enhanced" dollars for re-location, re-training and job development. Level Two of MILAP was income supplements for certain older workers. The Buchans Joint Committee was incredulous. Their CEIC advisors were nervous, too, that the transfer of power from the Liberals to the Progressive Conservatives in September 1984 left the length of the life of MILAP in some doubt. However, both groups went to work on it with a vengeance. Speed was of the essence, and if some people could not distinguish the newly formed Buchans Industrial Adjustment Committee from the Buchans Joint Committee, well, that was understandable. MILAP has been an important feature of economic life in Buchans.

Meanwhile, under one name or another, other community initiatives were going ahead. The board of the hospital was attempting to have the hospital

designated as a chronic care unit; a salmon enhancement project at Noel Paul's Brook on the nearby Exploits River was investigated, negotiations with ASARCO to both clean-up and transfer buildings and equipment to the town were under way; the salmon enhancement idea led to discussions about tourism potential and the need to sleep and feed tourist and sport fishers; some geological search for new commercial deposits was still going on and being monitored, including activities at Tally Pond; and buyers were sought for the one million tons of recoverable barite left by ASARCO. This stew of ideas was partially fed by a firm of consultants retained by the Committee to refine the ideas into an Area Development Strategy. This strategy positioned the prison, MILAP, and Buchans Development Corporation (BDC) as the three core (or anchor) enterprises for the new Buchans.

Such was the milieu that the Extension's field worker entered in 1985 to attempt discussions with individuals in the community about exchanging information by community transmitter. The busy schedule of many individuals explains why the resources available to initiate the transmitter project were originally school-based. This, too, explains why the project was regarded by some as helpful to the community agenda, good for the youth, useful as a distraction and a diversion, but not critical to the central issues about the penitentiary, MILAP, and BDC being pursued by negotiations in Ottawa and St. John's with civil servants and politicians. Planning for the transmitter itself became one way to bring about a meeting of minds on the community's undertakings and to consolidate the community in significant ways.

Although the transmitter process and project made its own contribution to the progress of development in Buchans, it is part of a much larger effort. Buchans leaders were discouraged and frustrated but not apathetic. Tensions were high as residents contemplated the end of their Unemployment Insurance benefits with no jobs in sight, but few were willing to abandon the community. As noted, the effort in Buchans had supporters in key positions in both the provincial and federal governments.

Since the project in 1985, much had occurred in Buchans. The Red Indian Lake Development Association hosted a provincial seminar for one-industry mining communities entitled "Boom Or(e) Bus. Shortly before, a resident of Buchans became the vice-president of the Canadian Association for Threatened Single Industry Towns. In 1986, the Town Council hosted a Come Home Year celebration for former residents. A broad sector of the community worked together to organize the event and an incredible 5000 individuals did come home; acquaintances were renewed and old memories revived. The motives were all social, not economic, and by those criteria, the event was highly successful. Still, hopes for a core industry were increasingly centred on the prospect of a federal penitentiary, and an extraordinarily skilled lobby, with help from a number of quarters, including Extension, occupied the time and energies of the town's key leaders continuously throughout four years.

In 1986, the Buchans Development Corporation (BDC) finally came into being, with impressive community support, as evidenced in the large number of shares sold to community residents who by now were of even more diminished circumstances.

The Province also made a contribution. Over time the Corporation took on an increasingly important role as the penitentiary lobby encountered more delays, although initially the role of BDC was essentially to develop the smaller enterprises in tandem with the federal penitentiary. BDC took over the assets of ASARCO, which consisted of a machine shop, carpenter shop/sawmill, barite plant and reserves, heavy equipment, assay laboratory and various buildings and physical structures. It then sought new businesses through attractively priced leases. In this way, three new businesses were established: (1) Buchans Enterprises which turned the company's former guest house into the only tourist and business accommodation facility and also did general contracting; (2) Rock Island Industries, a lapidary operation using local stone to produce souvenir and gift items, with subsidiary activities in engraved signage and specialty services; (3) and Steelcor Industries, a broad-based manufacturer offering custom fabrication, machining, and sheet metal services.

The federal election of 1988 had devastating consequences for the town's penitentiary lobby. In November, the announcement was made that the penitentiary would be situated in a federal district close to St. John's, apparently to prop up the floundering campaign of the Progressive Conservative candidate for that district (who, nevertheless, was defeated). Up to just before the announcement, the Buchans Committee continued its efforts, encouraged by the number of key officials who had slowly come on side. As documented in the chapter which follows, the Buchans penitentiary lobby, although unsuccessful in its primary role, was a critical factor in the $2.4 million commitment made to Buchans Development Corporation (BDC) in the same election, seemingly as a consolation prize.

Since then, BDC has continued to explore options for community employment, many which ultimately proved elusive but thinking in the community has come a long way since 1985. It extends to a sophisticated concept of Buchans as a learning community, able (among other things) to mount a respectable brief to Memorial University to suggest a campus in Buchans specifically focused on environmental issues—an idea much transformed from the original concept of a community of labourers who shovelled ore.

Early in 1991, Steelcor Industries signed a five year contract with an American-based aerospace company (General Electric Aerospace) for the production of precision parts for radar systems. The contract stipulates that two computer controlled machining centres worth one million dollars will revert to Steelcor after five years. Steelcor's president, Sean Power, a resident of Buchans said, "the agreement is one example of how a smaller industrial centre like Buchans can contribute its resources and skills to specialized manufacturing for international markets" (Cox, 1991, p. B6). The company is now on the verge of three new ventures: (1) a repeat contract for manufacturing of parts for radar systems, nine times the size of the original one; (2) a $4 million contract with a Bombardier subsidiary in Ireland to machine bodycastings and assemble missile launchers of surface-to-air missiles; and (3) a contract with a California-based company to manufacture sonar equipment for American navel helicopters.

Also during the past year, BDC announced the establishment of a training facility, initially to focus on environment and conservation, leadership and growth

training, and outdoors education. An advisory committee and consortium of educational and training interests in the province and a consulting firm assisted in the development of the concept. The first program, training in scaffolding construction related to the oil industry, is scheduled for the summer of 1992.

Throughout the entire struggle in Buchans, particularly from 1984 on, Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) has been actively engaged in supporting the efforts of people in Buchans for self-determination. Currently, Buchans and the two nearest communities (Buchans Junction and Millertown) constitute one of the smallest designated Community Futures areas. The most recent evidence of CEIC's involvement is that monies for the engineering plans for the training institute and renovations for the physical plant have been advanced though CEIC's Community Initiatives fund. MILAP had already been identified as a CEIC program which has been a major contributor to the degree of stability presently being experienced in Buchans.

Few people in Buchans would insist that the town's future is now secure. Nor have development efforts ceased. Discussions about another more convenient road link to combat the perennial transportation problem continue, as do efforts to lease more of the former company's facilities. Aquaculturing and cage culturing for rainbow trout are also being actively pursued. Steelcor Industries perseveres in seeking additional contracts. Migration out of Buchans is steadily declining, although the age distribution of those remaining is somewhat skewed towards older workers, either retired or assisted by MILAP, and declining enrolment has caused the two

denominational school systems to integrate. The spectre of Buchans as a deserted mining community has abated, and the emphasis has shifted away from an initial hope for a few core industries to a focus on diversification and pursuit of a number of small businesses. The community of Buchans survives and is alive.

CHAPTER V

TRANSFORMATIONS

> *All of a sudden, this lifted people right out of the mud.* (Buchans resident)
>
> *On a scale of effectiveness going from 1 to 10, I think BCTV might've been up around 12 or 13.* (Buchans resident)
>
> *We [leaders] were hitting our heads against a wall. I mean we weren't getting anywhere. This [BCTV] regenerated us because it appeared we had the people's support then.* (Buchans resident)

The purpose of this research is to illuminate and capture the essential ingredients of a community learning process which was assisted by narrowcasting as a particular form of development support communication. This objective could be partly accomplished by an articulation and examination of outcomes.

In this study, outcomes were not easily defined. One source of difficulty was that the open-ended nature of the major goal of the learning process could give rise to a variety of outcomes. The range of options include the creation of an alternative economic infrastructure for the community, a change in the attitude of key decision makers in government to the expectations of residents of single-industry towns, or changes in the community image held by outsiders. A second difficulty was the complexity of trying to decide which of the many outcomes related to which inputs. Since the learning setting was a complex, natural one that occurred over a six-month period outside a formal instructional setting, defining the limits of the variables with precision, and locating them in relation to each other, was not possible.

One of several dimensions integral to such illumination was elucidation of the variety of changes in participants. Several perspectives could have been brought to bear here, such as that of the community development specialists who worked with Buchans residents and could comment on this effort in relation to other projects on which they had worked. There was also the view of the external agencies with whom residents had contact over the seven year period that this study encompassed.

While these perspectives would have added enormously to a full illumination of outcomes, this study is confined to the perspectives of people who were residents of the community. Their comments on changes were culled from open-ended interviews about what the experience of participating had been for each, and as well as responses to direct questions about outcomes, results, impacts. In the data collection, I sought insights into whether different degrees of involvement in the community television project were any predictor of involvement in subsequent community activities.

It may be appropriate to state again that I did not attempt to evaluate the community transmitter project in Buchans on any particular dimension, but to understand its breadth, since no baseline data about this type of media-assisted community development currently exists in the adult education or communication literature. I would have liked to link the changes which people reported to the establishment of new economic ventures which provided employment opportunities that allowed those who wished to stay in that community the means to do so. While an understanding of such relationships was much to be desired, so many factors were

at play in this development context (including the alignment of political will) that this study is confined to noting significant events which occurred during the period of the study. It suggests aspects of community learning that contributed to an environment which fostered, rather than caused, certain outcomes. My data did tend to suggest that some people already engaged became more so, that new people not previously as involved increased their involvement, and that a large number of people from the general community became more curious, confident and active in seeking and assessing information about community affairs.

It was not possible to establish unequivocally a one-to-one relationship between the participation in the narrowcasting process and general participation in community life after the project for two reasons. First, as stated in my discussion of methodology (Chapter III), my attempt to classify participation in the community transmitter project as minor, considerable, or extensive, became increasing difficult as residents revealed to me the many ways in which it was possible for them to have participated in the project. Some people who did not appear on the television programs tended to dismiss their contribution as not as extensive as someone who was a host or interviewer. Some respondents whose contributions were confined to the production of materials in only one of the three major categories of information clearly demonstrated a sense of their centrality to the project that went beyond the content area to which they contributed. Indeed, I was struck over and over by comments of people who had no direct specific involvement in the conceptualization, management or implementation of the project to the effect that the community television project had been <u>their</u> community project. People who viewed and sometimes called into the

program justly considered themselves to have been participants. I was also made aware that nearly everybody's pattern of involvement was unique to them and that my original categories were artificial constructs which did not correspond to how subjects themselves saw their involvement. For example, was attending two meetings on whether the overall narrowcast project would create false optimism in the community the same degree of participation as conducting four interviews?

A definition of participation is elusive, as anyone who has attempted to assign grades based on class participation will attest. Obviously, one can be physically present and not make an active contribution, or indeed, be vociferous on one topic and silent on others. When I considered participation in community life after the narrowcasting project, I had to reassess my original assumption that it could be understood as involvement in various community committees, since passionate citizenship outside of intra-community bodies could be considered as participative as playing a minor role on a hospital board, for example.

The question of parallels between both kinds of participation was posed only to understand the ways in which people were affected by the community television project, and there are no shortage of those.

Revitalization of Community Spirit

The first of the ways in which people were affected was simplistic on the surface, as represented in the following comments:

It boosted up the spirit of this community. (Emma)

What that done for us was...revitalize us and re-energize us. (Clayton)

It started to lift the level of depression. And even before the end of when the work was finished, everyone was feeling pretty good about it. (Dora)

It took the town from a feeling of depression to a feeling of elation. (Lloyd)

It was definitely positive...and it gave me some heart that we could go on. (Gordon)

It was a great uplifter—no question about that. (Margaret)

We needed an upper because we were all down and I think we really did achieve that bit. You know everybody was quite keyed up about this. It was a big thing. It was a big community thing and everybody was so excited. (Mildred)

The community most definitely felt better about itself after. We got that through phone calls that came in through the whole project itself. All of the community livened up. It was nicer on the streets and people talked to people more. People who would not normally have a conversation with me would stop their grocery cart in the store and talk to me about the community. A lot of people were doing that. (Janet)

I think it made people feel good about themselves again. You know it's pretty depressing if you've been working all your life and then there's no employment or anything around—bang, zap, everybody's unemployed. You know this is culture shock.... Here, people were pretty down on themselves, depressed, whatever. The television thing, they saw themselves...it boosted morale. (Ralph)

Everybody that I was speaking to, you know, in the next days and weeks was like myself, everybody felt really good about it. It was something new for us to have a TV program in our own little town of Buchans. (Wayne)

Pride and Cohesion in the Community

There were extensive comments on an allied theme, the sense of pride and community cohesion experienced and the connection to the community that this engendered.

What I saw was that people did integrate together, and they were able to do things together. (Gordon)

I think it's like a family, you know. You realize you are one and you have to stay as one if you want to succeed. (Lloyd)

It seemed to bring the town together. Bringing the town together is one of the key points. (Calvin)

I firmly believe that it brought people closer together in the town. (Aubrey)

I don't know any other way we could have joined the community together as a total community. (Janet)

We developed this unique closeness that's in Buchans. (Emma)

The TV production brought back a lot of those memories and tied everyone back together. (Bruce)

I wouldn't have believed that such unity could have been achieved and that there would be so much support. (Rosalind)

In a town like this, with only so many jobs, there are different people with petty jealousies and all that. And this type of project can clear and break a lot of boundaries. (Aubrey)

You know there's a dog-eat-dog aspect of unemployment. I think a lot of that changed after the project. (Margaret)

It gave us a tie to the community, a feeling of involvement, pride in our community and pride in ourself that we had even attempted to do something, so it helped to bring the community together. (Ruby)

The mine had closed in '84, there wasn't that much happening. People were hurtin' really bad. I think some of the pride that they had in their community was starting to ebb. I think this project brought it right up again. (Clayton)

Increased Confidence in Abilities of Community Members

Residents consistently reported a different sense of capacity and resources of themselves and/or those of other community members, a sense that appears to come from assumptions about the total community's capacities and resources.

I was surprised by the abilities of the people. I don't necessarily mean people who just got involved with the television project but people like Rex and Aubrey [other leaders] that I thought I knew inside out. I was surprised at my own ability to handle this type of thing. (Clayton)

You must understand that when we operated the mine, the only thing that most people thought they could do was mine ore. So the fact that somebody came and...showed us that we could do something other than shovel ore was quite astonishing. (Bruce)

I could look at the community from a different perspective. Before, I would say, well this is the way things are and this is the way they're going to be. After I could look at the community in a more optimistic way because what I saw was potential. (Margaret)

They saw themselves and Buchans in a different light. (Dora)

As a result of that project, the people can see themselves differently. I was one of the people and I could see myself in a different light as well. It gave me the opportunity to see myself in a different way. I became more confident in what I became involved in, whether it was committees in school or church committees, I became more confident at what I was doing.... It gave me a sense of worth. (Ruby)

Even the coverage of arts and crafts.... I didn't realize this sort of thing really existed in the town you know. But in this way, I got a good look at it. Normally, I'd look at a person as only a teacher, or whatever he is in his field, say a ditch digger. But with this he came through as a different person, he's got more character, there's more depth to the person. That's what I understood through the [television] show.... I gradually got the impression they had a lot more skills than what I thought. In other words, I was a little bit humbled by it. (Gordon)

It was critically important that it was people from the place that were creating the pictures of the place on community television. It was local people, out-of-work local people. (Ralph)

There was hope—not only material resources but resources in its people. People are the main thing. (Calvin)

I can't say I learned anything from the broadcast itself. But when I was involved in getting ready for it, I was always dealing with people, and that's when I saw a different aspect of them.... I discovered a lot of people who can do a lot of things. (Aubrey)

I came away from it with a sense that...we do as a community have a certain control.... What is now doesn't have to be, that you can change things. (Rosalind)

> I saw myself differently because I was doing things I had not done before and I was pleased with what I was doing. There were things that I thought I might even be good at.... I feel that I could move into the community and put myself up for election or whatever, and have a fair chance of being accepted. I don't think I knew that before, but now I would risk it more. I would move out more readily into the community. Maybe I trust the community more. (Janet)

Creation of a Common and Equitable Data Base

Another consistently mentioned change was in the levels of information that resulted from the 24 hours of material which was narrowcast. This information centred on the activities which were being undertaken by various members of the community on behalf of the community at large and which were a piece of the full picture of the immediate future of Buchans. Community members poised on the brink of a decision about staying or leaving Buchans were given a "report card on where each of the committees had reached" (Clayton) so that, as families, they could gauge the probability of success of these efforts against their own particular circumstances and need for employment.

> We (BCTV) didn't bring anything economic into the community but the community as a whole we brought together as one by helping to bring different aspects [of development activity] to people to educate them. (Emma)

> The people were communicating among themselves. They talked about the discussions that were going on with government and everything else. A nice bit of the program was the people themselves and it was to let them get involved in what was going on. (Margaret)

> [After the project] the community knew what was going on. When you talk to people in the store or in the club, they'd ask you informed questions about what was going on. Before that people were confused in what was going on or didn't know just what these committees or this particular one was trying to do. They didn't realize certain things about MILAP until this thing was done on TV. We had people from CEIC on the panel who explained it all and answered questions which were phoned in on-air. (Clayton)

It let people in on a lot of things they didn't even know.... There was nothing in it that would tell people that work here will be guaranteed. There was nothing like that...it just more or less let people know where they stood and what the future could hold for them in Buchans. It gave us information so we'll just have to make our own decisions and move or we're going to hang tough with small wages and government assistance for a while. (Wayne)

The main goal of the project was information about the committees that were on the go and what they were learning from government. There was this group of active committees and people on the outside in the community didn't know what was going on. That goal was met full force. You could see it in people's faces. When you were walking along the street, people would stop and say...they didn't know this was going on and they were really glad to finally learn. Before the program, you could almost see people with questions on their face. (Calvin)

Take the prison committee, I suppose you could call them. They were doing their homework and they had it done really good. This [community television] was a way of getting their work across to the to the community and getting the ideas of the people across to the committee. (Matthew)

The objective of the program to inform the public succeeded in spades. The information provided was critical. People needed to know.... They had two options, to go or to stay so we came on television for three days telling them on what they could base these decisions. This is what could happen; this is what may not happen. (Rex)

A lot of people didn't know what we were at it you know. They didn't know the difference between the development association, the MILAP committee and the town council for example. I know why you can get a bit confused. But after [the television project] if people were going to protest, they protested in the right place, although surprisingly there was very little after that. (Bruce)

A lot of people like myself really got a lot of information from it. Maybe it oriented us to stay in Buchans or it oriented us to move. (Gordon)

I learned something new about my community. I could look at it from a different perspective. Some of the things I had been exposed to before but I had never thought of them in anything more but a passing fleeting way until they were presented in the way they were presented [by the television program]. (Ruby)

Impact on Community Leaders

If the community at large experienced democracy of information for three days, the leaders of various organizations and economic development committees were affected in other ways. Among these was a sense that the work they had undertaken was acknowledged and appreciated.

> There was a change in that the various committees now had a mandate. They had been told "You're doing a great job for me. Thank you. I see now what's happening here and I understand a bit more. Thanks boys, keep up the good work." There was lot more of that after.... They felt much better about what they were doing. They were giving whatever they could in the name of the community. (Janet)

> There was a number of people that came up to me saying "Boy, you know, you did a good job." Before people were questioning what you were trying. I'll use the prison as an example. After the television program and the information that was passed on, people were coming back to me commenting on it. (Aubrey)

> I don't think people really realized that there was so much going on from a small group of people trying to help the rest. They didn't even know what was happening within the group. People learned that the committees did care about the people of the community. (Calvin)

> We suspected that there was support there for what we were doing but we never really knew. I think the television project confirmed that suspicion was there.... The end results were very, very positive.... What it did for the prison option was fantastic. We did a poll around the town after and I think 98% of the people were in favour of going after the prison for Buchans. Before that we figure it was about a 50/50 split. (Rex)

> People came to understand that the vast majority of people on the committees are only trying to do the best we can. (Mildred)

In the quotations which follow, respondents identified three outcomes of this renewed understanding and appreciation—acceptance and support, a more informed citizenry, and revitalization.

> There was a more positive acceptance of the leaders.... Community members were more inclined to ask questions of people concerned than they had before. (Aubrey)

> I think the more the community knew what was going on, the more they supported the committee and that was very important. [We knew that] just from conversation, talking, feeling but no scientific way.... You talk to people in the store or at the club and they'd have informed questions of what was going on. We got support from the community that probably lasted a couple of years. (Clayton)

> [The community television project] renewed us—that is the people who were working on those committees...part of that whole process was working on the project itself. Pretty well everyone who was involved in the Joint Committee at that time became involved in the TV project by virtue of having to pass out information and stuff like that...the whole community got involved in it. We had 50 or 60 people working directly on the project itself. Young people, old people, the whole community was represented on it. You could see by the electricity in the air or whatever you want to call it—that great feeling between the people actually doing the project and the people out there in the audience in the building and the people who were calling in to talk to you the next day. (Rex)

Possibly, the greatest reward of authentic leadership is being confident that one's stewardship is attuned to a community's aspirations. Knowing that definitively by virtue of demonstrated and expressed confidence from one's community renewed the social contract between community representatives and community residents.

An implication of the opportunity for community leaders to experience such enthusiastic support from the community is tellingly portrayed in the following two comments:

> We knew when we were speaking to government officials, we were speaking to them on the pretence of speaking for the community. After this project [BCTV] was done, we knew, with certainty, that we were speaking for the community. It made us more sure of what we were doing. It gave us more energy to do what we were doing because if we have the support of the people, the support of the community behind us,

> then we're doing something right in the sense that's it's right for them.... The penitentiary issue or lobby was one good example. We never had the full support of the community for that but after the project we did. When we were talking to Leblanc who was the Commissioner of Correction Services at the time, one of his first questions was "Will this thing be accepted in the community?" We spoke to him before we had the TV project and we answered "yes" but not really sure what we were saying was true. When we met with him after the [TV] project and said "yes" and we elaborated on the acceptance of this thing, we were telling the truth. People were with us, were receptive to it and would embrace it and work with it...I think that made us that much more convincing. If we could speak with confidence, bureaucrats and politicians tend to believe us more.... The important thing was the ability to be able to speak with confidence and knowing that we had the support of the people. That was an important thing that came out of the project. (Clayton)

A second leader echoed this thought:

> We would not have won the confidence of the politicians we were dealing with had they not known we were a unified, solidified community. I've made a lot of presentations to politicians. After the presentation they would say "When you start talking about Buchans your facial expression changes, you just begin to glow". I think it was the Minister of Justice [the provincial department] who said "You can see the support of the 1300 people in Buchans in your face when you speak." We would never have gotten where we are if the politicians thought we were just trying to make a name for ourselves personally. It wouldn't have worked. (Rex)

These reflections again speak to an ideal moment in democratic community life in which leaders have a solidly based relationship with constituents. Those who represented Buchans in the larger sphere were effective and persuasive because they conveyed the unassailable nature of that representativeness. This outcome was ultimately crucial. The community leaders believed that the goodwill towards Buchans as a community attempting to be self-reliant, which they generated through the penitentiary lobby, was the deciding factor in the joint bureaucrat and political decision to fund the Buchans Development Corporation, after the penitentiary was

promised to another riding in the province during the 1990 federal election. Clayton gave his version of these events:

> The penitentiary lobby became stronger after the community television project. I think that the lobby, the strength of the lobby and I suppose the good job we done on the lobby paved the way for us getting the funding for the Development Corporation once the prison wasn't there any more.... I believe that to be a fact. The last efforts of the prison lobby were conducted to put the government in such a position that they couldn't turn us down altogether. They felt they owed us something. An agenda of ours during the last two or three weeks of the lobby was to put them where they would say "Okay, we can't give them the penitentiary, we gotta give them something."

If community leaders could make links between the television program, the support from the community which it engendered, the success of the penitentiary lobby and the funding of the Buchans Development Corporation, other outcomes were much more subtle. No one in Buchans would want any of the achievements in Buchans to be understood as anything but a broad-based community effort. However much leadership in Buchans was shared, a group of individuals were central through most initiatives. Pertinent examples of that leadership are shown in the thoughts of two such leaders about the community support they experienced:

> It took an intense lobbying effort to get MILAP. That could never have been achieved unless the town had decided to have an awful lot of faith in their leadership. They conveyed a tremendous faith in us that we were doing the right thing. They [older workers] had their lives on hold and indeed their lives on the line, believing a bunch of youngsters like us.... Knowing how much they depended on it, how much they believed in us made us push all that much harder.... They stayed the course and waited and believed in us. They did that partially as a result of the community television project. We're all for one. I decided to stick it out then and I'm going to stick it out now.... I felt more weight on my shoulders after it was over. (Rex)

> One thing that's happened to me since is that I discovered that I was a more emotional person than I thought. I got very involved in the community television project because of the pride I had in the people

> who were involved.... There were things about them I never saw before—you know about Aubrey and Rex—who were involved in this thing, who were involved in the community and then got on TV. I don't know how to put it in words now but I guess I had a sense of pride in everybody. I was really proud, I loved them.... We got along better as a result of it [working together on the television project]. We became more of a team. (Clayton)

The first person spoke to the added responsibility he experienced; the second to a sense of solidarity with other concerned and engaged citizens. Both of these realizations would prove to be vital at many points in the long and winding road to economic prosperity.

Increase of Participation in Community Life

While I consider the community leaders' appreciation of their symbiotic relationship to the people of the community, and all that entailed, to be the most important single outcome of the community television project in Buchans, I noted other observations of my respondents. In the list that follows, the quotations refer to outcomes of two kinds. The first group of quotations are about key community events which residents link directly to the transmitter project. The second half are references to attitudes which were very much part of the context and environment of all activities related to the exploration of futures which continued and is continuing in Buchans. They include the following observations:

> When we did the Come Home Year [project], we did get a lot of involvement from some of the people that were involved with the television project. I can think of two girls in particular who were involved as a direct result of the TV project. (Aubrey)

> We looked at setting up our own communications committee as part of the Community Futures but the funding never came through. There have been two different efforts to really set it up again. (Gerald)

I personally think the Buchans Development Corporation got off the ground because of left over feelings from the TV program.... The forming of the BDC and the stand up support that it got in meeting halls, that was visible. (Janet)

Support for the penitentiary in the community wasn't that great so we connected up with Bill Mont who was the mayor of Springhill and had a telephone thing [conversation carried live over BCTV] with him. We had a panel asking him questions on what the penitentiary had meant to Springhill, the escape rate that people were worried about. Nobody wants to get killed in their beds by a deranged prisoner or something like that. Not too long after the television project was done, we [Joint Committee] kinda done a little formal poll ourselves. We discovered the support was close to a hundred percent of the people. (Clayton)

We wouldn't have got government support [for the Development Corporation] unless we could go out and say "listen we got 400 shares sold. People of Buchans own this thing".... It was a sin. I was here working in the office when people would come up to buy shares. For many of them I felt like buying the share and giving it to them because they couldn't afford it. It certainly wasn't caused by them having any extra money.... They wanted to show support. Still at the time in 1986, there was still a tremendous amount of support for the leadership. This Development Corporation was newly formed and they wanted to believe in that as they had believed in MILAP and that had been successful, so that was part of it. (Rex)

BCTV brought about a maturity [for youth] because it opened our eyes to what was going on. Before it was just go out and have a good time—you're just a student. BCTV brought about a maturity in the students because we were getting involved.... Probably the adults didn't even notice that we had any concerns or that we were involved in what was going on. They probably thought we just turned a blind eye to everything. They soon found out that we were involved, that we were concerned and that we wanted to try and do something about it. (Emma)

People called [their questions and comments to the on-air portion of the television narrowcast] that never voiced an opinion in other settings, that you had never heard from in the community before. (Ruby)

You could really see the interest of people come alive [after]. When there was a meeting of say, the Development Association, you could see the increase in the number of people...who not only came, but participated as well by talking back and forth, asking questions they would have never asked before. (Bruce)

> After the television project, there was more attendance at community events. People really started to question things—got involved—which was good. (Ralph)

> People started talking to people who they hadn't talked to before. It was a spontaneous type of thing. If I was walking around the community, you could hear people talking about the prison, MILAP, whatever.... Before the people thought the committees were just dreaming that something was going to happen and hoping it was going to happen. After you could almost hear the hope in people's voices when they were talking to each other or with committee members. (Calvin)

Making the Decision to Re-locate

Not all outcomes were seen as positive. Indeed, the gains that were made in new economic options were not sufficient as a whole to maintain the level of employment necessary so that all families who wanted to stay in Buchans could do so. Since the television project about 50 families have re-located.

> There's a lot of people who have up and left. There's some people, some families here such as my own, that has one of the parents working outside the community and another one working here. (Emma)

> I think maybe the '85 TV program gave them the opportunity to make a decision to leave and not hang on. (Rex)

> The hopes around the prison kept some people here for a while. But then after a while a few more moved. We've lost most of our young people. (Ruby)

> Yeah, yeah it's fine that I'm workin' and Jerry is workin' and Tom is working and Bob is working but what about the guys 19 or 20 years old—ones that's not going to go to the Trades School [in St. John's] or the university [also in St. John's]. There's always those in a community. (Ralph)

> We had individuals who were interested [in a communications committee] but we just couldn't get the thing off the ground. (Very long pause). I think if Gerald had stayed around, we might've gotten the committee off the ground, with him and Lloyd together. But we lost both of them in the same year—I believe that was '86. (Clayton)

Some of the migration was offset by a small number of people who moved into the community, mainly attracted by very inexpensive housing. While many community leaders were happy to have new residents, the fact that the newcomers were mostly the chronically unemployed was of concern to some long-time residents. These new people were not considered community members in the same way as are others who originally came to Buchans to be part of the work force for the mine, and were not well integrated into the social life of the community.

> There are some people in town, who, through no fault of their own, probably have Social Assistance as their main source of income. I guess they would make up some of the large families, although not a significant proportion of the town. I'm not one to say we shouldn't have these people in town because I think that's fine with me. I have no problem with them. Most are just down on their luck. (Bruce)

Negative Consequences

Of the 20 community residents interviewed for this study, all except one were able to speak of substantial benefits to themselves and the community which followed and which in some way were influenced by the community television project. The exception was Wayne. He spoke glowingly about his satisfaction as he watched the transmission and how honoured he felt to be interviewed. However, he was also clear about the results.

> I can't see the goodness of it any more than it was really interesting to watch and it didn't do anything for Buchans...not really as I can see any more than it let people in on a lot of things they didn't even know was going on.... There was nothing in it that would tell people "This work here will be guaranteed." There was nothing like that. It just more or less let people know where they stood and what the future held for them.

The transcript of my interview with Wayne puts to rest any suggestion that residents of Buchans consciously or unconsciously colluded with me to provide positive views about the television project my department had cooperated with them in doing. Because I had interviewed most of the other people before Wayne, I had come to expect a certain type of answer and thus was not altogether open to the views of someone that were not congruent with what I had been told up to that point. If Wayne is at all typical of rural residents dealing with researchers, research is unlikely to be marred by over-conforming subjects. Wayne told me:

> It was tremendous you know, the support that this program got. Because of like I said, the whole thing was taped. I would probably give a tape of the first night, someone else would have a tape of the second night and they would exchange. It went far and wide, I'm going to tell you that. This tape went out to my home now, to the head guy over there. He took the tape out there and after it got out there they saw it and started to think if this kind of thing would be good for them.... But no, to answer your question, I didn't get any new information myself...see I knew what I needed to know.

Of course, Wayne is correct that no direct link can be drawn between the television project and job creation. Perhaps he was unusually free to make that judgement since he was of retirement age, and was not a part of the community that was seeking work. He had a different relationship to the event than people whose family fortunes were intertwined with the community's effort to find alternative economic futures.

Three other points are pertinent to this discussion of outcomes, and each concerns negative outcomes. The first point is straightforward, the second two more complex.

Because the project was considered worthwhile by almost all those involved, this research was mainly an attempt to look under the surface to find the components which led to that conclusion. I also made an effort to inquire about negative results. This was not particularly fruitful since many people insisted there were none. However, among the negatives mentioned was a concern about intensity.

> This was a very, very tiring three months for a lot of people, building up for a climax for three days.... It might've frightened off some people because of the intensity of it. (Ruby)

> I can't think of one negative thing. Except kids got neglected at meal times! There were so many people who were involved, including who were involved at meal time, and whatever.... I had a full time sitter for my kids. (Janet)

Optimism versus Hope

I raised a question with each subject about whether the entire process and the buoyancy it created was essentially a disservice in light of the serious decisions that were being made, decisions which required as much rationality as possible. Often these discussions revolved around the concept of false optimism. My query was centred on whether the process of preparing for the narrowcast transmission or the content of the transmission itself could have obscured the stark realities which the community as a whole and the individual families were facing. That question always provoked a quiet reflection, especially among those who had been active in the planning and coordinating process. While the responses were far from glib, in one way or another each subject acknowledged the possibility that undue optimism may have arisen for some people, although not from an imbalance in the transmitted materials or from deliberate distortion. The following can serve as a summation:

> We tried to stop it [false optimism]. I can remember that my closing few words that night on television were aimed directly at stopping the optimism that I had seen pop up over the past three days by telling people that the road is long and indeed has many winding turns.... As much as the community was told that the outlook is not rosy, they saw so much in their history that they couldn't let the past be forgotten.... We were very careful not to mislead anyone in terms of their options for the future. We made it very clear that we could get MILAP or we may not; we could get the penitentiary or we may not; we may get the Development Corporation started and we may not;...[we] tried to keep driving it home that this is what we are working on, not this is what we are going to get. So in terms of what we put out, I think it was very unbiased.... But the very fact that we're telling people that this is what we are working on is asking people to have hope. You don't work on things unless you got some hope.... If we didn't have hope in the future, it would've been a much different program I guess. (Rex)

One of the youth who had been involved answered my question about whether generating hope was a responsible thing to have done:

> The television project did bring involvement into the community and without the involvement and hope of the people, I can't see anything developing. Like the Buchans Development Corporation—that couldn't be brought about without the involvement of the people and the hope of the people to bring some jobs into the community. (Emma)

Both respondents make an important distinction between empty optimism and necessary hope. In this way, the discussions of results, outcomes, and effects comes full circle to the first impact documented in this chapter, that is the lifted spirits of both those who were involved in planning and those who were viewer-participants.

The final comment made by some about the community television project was on the lack of followup. This issue is intriguing because the comments seem to have to do with an expectation that there should have been a similar sort of event, or that a continuous dialogue about community options and community initiatives was possible and desirable. In fact, there was extensive involvement between some

members of the community and the two of Extension Service staff. The latter provided consultative service on an irregular but continuing basis on most major initiatives that have subsequently occupied the leaders of Buchans until the spring of 1991. Perhaps this sense of lack of followup was because the original project was cast in terms of a wide segment of the community being involved in a process in which a number of Extension Service staff were also involved. The followup that took place has seen fewer residents and fewer staff working together—an outcome that may not be as intuitively satisfying or democratic as the one modelled earlier.

CHAPTER VI

REFLECTIONS ON THE NARROWCAST MEDIUM

All of a sudden, we didn't watch the six o'clock [network] news any more because we were the six o'clock news. It may seem a bit crazy now but that's what happened. People began to focus more on the inner workings of the town and they saw their neighbours being important. (Buchans resident)

But when you see someone you know [from your community] who's uncomfortable behind a camera, you're not expecting them to drop a bomb on you. The language has a nice and easy flow. It has the same accent as you do. It's not unfamiliar. (Buchans resident)

If someone came in from CBC [Canadian Broadcasting Corporation] and started to ask me questions about Buchans, I'm sure they would overlook a lot of questions that I could answer. (Buchans resident)

The previous chapter has documented the impact of Buchans Community Television (BCTV) on selected people of that community, from their perspective. Had the outcomes been prosaic, perfunctory, predictable or superficial, there would be little incentive or rationale for examining the television narrowcasting process itself in order to develop an understanding of underlying factors, elements, and dynamics. Instead, cumulatively, the words from Buchans residents indicate how profoundly they were affected and how passionately they were engaged. This made it imperative to penetrate the core of this process of communication, learning, and development—to unpack it. I paid particular attention to those aspects of the medium and the process which appeared to contribute to the impacts documented in the previous chapter. The analysis which follows, interwoven with the contextualized case study portrayal offered in Chapter IV, gives adult educators the basis from which to make informed

judgements about the potential of this type of development intervention for community development and social change in other settings.

This chapter looks into the eye of the community narrowcasting process along three dimensions, each of which illuminates community narrowcasting in the context of learning-based community development or learning-for-development. The first dimension is a consideration of the socio-cultural implications of the characteristic features and physical properties of narrowcasting for community communication and community development. The second dimension is an examination of the manner in which the community narrowcast process contains vital dynamics of learning-for-development. The third is an analysis of community narrowcasting as a communication supplement to mass media and as a emancipatory process for rural communities working towards development goals. Although these three dimensions are initially treated separately, in practice, and later in this chapter, they converge and blend.

Methodological Aside

The framework for illuminating the medium developed from reflection on and analysis of three different sources of data: (1) literatures from both adult education and communication; (2) evidence available to me as a participant-observer of parts of the Buchans transmitter project and of transmitter projects in other Newfoundland communities; and (3) interview data gathered from residents of Buchans and former and current staff of the Extension Service. The second two sources require an explanation.

As stated earlier, I had been associated for several years with the non-governmental agency (Extension Service, Memorial University of Newfoundland) under whose auspices this project and others involving media in development were conducted. I had been either a participant or observer in easily a hundred conversations about these efforts and had been on site for different parts of six initiatives that involved the use of the community transmitter medium (or its equivalent). I had read all the internal documentation available through the Extension Service about the fifteen community transmitter projects conducted before the autumn of 1988. While all of these experiences occurred before this particular research began formally, it was not possible to exclude from my consciousness the impressions garnered from those earlier encounters. The framework presented later in this chapter is supported only by data that arose directly from the Buchans project, although I have more or less faith in the significance and interpretation of any one finding because of my experiences in other communities where I also observed aspects of media-assisted community development.

My role as a participant-observer in other similar projects has played a smaller role in my analysis than the two other factors. The methodology chapter indicates that I interviewed two groups of people: first, residents of Buchans about Buchans Community Television; and second, current or former staff of the University about their experience with community transmitter projects in general. Those in the latter group who had been directly associated with the Buchans project, I interviewed twice, the second time concentrating specifically on the project in Buchans. I reflected on those conversations and read all the interview transcripts. Still, the data from staff

members were not analyzed as minutely and repeatedly as were the interviews with Buchans residents, and with a few exceptions, they were not directly quoted in this or other chapters. However, this notation stands as an acknowledgement that the framework of this chapter had the benefit of long, intensive, reflective, and probing conversations with a group of development workers and media specialists who, with various communities, created the practices described in this dissertation. While I assume full responsibility for the framework advanced in this chapter, what follows has been influenced by sources which are not explicitly indicated.

In contrast to the background role to which I assigned interviews with staff, I supported my analysis by relying heavily on the data gathered from residents of Buchans, and quote extensively from interviews with them. My reason for doing so to the import I ascribe to that data, import arising from its uniqueness and unexpected detail.

When I began to structure this research project, it was necessary to select a community from among a number which had engaged in a period of learning-for-development incorporating a community transmitter. Initially, I was torn between choosing a community in which the experience had been relatively recent or ongoing, and one for which some time had lapsed since the project, and where initial impressions had faded. The advantage of the former was that memories of the encounter would be fresh and sharp, and more likely to provide "better" data about the process itself than reflections on an event long past. The advantage of the latter, on the other hand, was the opportunity to look at the impact of the community

narrowcasting television process on development in a community over a period of time. This would provide opportunities for second, or even third, thoughts about the overall utility of community narrowcasting from a long term perspective. Given my interest in long term development, not in temporary infatuations with novel technology, I opted for the latter, not without misgivings about the trade-offs I judged to be unavoidable.

Initially, I considered beginning each interview by asking respondents to view a videotape of excerpts I had made from the original block of narrowcast material, as a prompt to their memory and recall—to figuratively take them back five years. I eventually rejected this option. My concern was that this new tape might focus people too much and too uniformly on what I had chosen in 1990, and then only on the content of the narrowcast, in contrast to recollections and impressions of the process (including content) that remained, even though five years had passed.

Even before I conducted any interviews, my suspicion about trade-offs were substantiated when resident after resident protested that their memories were poor, and there had been "a lot of water under the bridge" since the 1985 BCTV. I assured each potential respondent that I had anticipated these realities and was fully prepared to accept them. Such exchanges conditioned me to low expectations about any insights on features or dynamics of the narrowcast medium, given the intervening five years. No one had advance notice of my questions, and therefore no opportunity to consider and prepare their replies. Prior to their interview, only a few would have engaged in any formal retrospective about the narrowcasting venture.

My line of inquiry was general. Basically, but in different ways, I invited members of the community to speculate about those aspects of narrowcast television in itself and as a communication process which might have given rise to the impacts they detailed for me. I had been interviewing for a while before I woke up to an appreciation of how much richness the respondents were supplying, in defiance of all the odds. They were able to recall, name, and expound on their experience with the narrowcast medium with far more detail than I had anticipated. As a result, I attributed extra significance to the contemplations they did offer because they had surfaced a full five years after a one-time initial exposure to community narrowcasting. Indeed, the penetrating and eloquent reflections from residents of Buchans about narrowcasting as technology and process helped me create a framework for understanding small media in learning-for-development.

Implications of Characteristic Features of Narrowcast Technology

The first dimension of this approach is a focus on features and properties of the narrowcast technology. The focus was undertaken as a route to finding the socio-cultural implications of narrowcasting for communication dynamics, an approach prompted by Williams and his probe into the relationship between television as a cultural form and television as a technology (Williams, 1974).

Williams takes issue with many of the interpretations of cause and effect in regard to television technology, largely viewing such interpretations as overly simplistic. Suspicious that any technology is the cause of social conditions, as opposed to just the opposite, he distinguishes between technology and the use of technology,

between content and form, between necessary institutions and changeable institutions. To honour his concerns, on most occasions when "narrowcasting" appears in this dissertation, the "use of narrowcasting" should appear instead. Although I have followed convention and contracted the expression, the more meticulous expression is implied.

Williams assigns two different but allied arguments to those who accept the stance that cause can be attributed to technology in general, and specifically that television alters our world. The first position deals with technological determinism or a belief that social change results from technologies which are the outcome of free standing, "pure" research, and development. From this perspective, the steam engine made modern man, and the invention of television altered our institutions, changed forms of social relationships, changed family life, and so on. The second position, that of symptomatic technology, views television as a by-product of social processes undertaken for reasons unrelated to the creation of technology. "Technology is either a self acting force which creates new ways of life [technological determinism], or it is a self acting force which provides material for new ways of life [symptomatic determinism]" (Williams, 1974, p. 14). Williams advances different interpretations, one in which intention is restored over happenstance to the research and development process of the first opinion, and directness to the second; that is, social needs and practices figuratively dictate certain technologies, or certain social purposes support the emergence of certain technologies.

While I am of the view that narrowcasting technology was developed in the margins of broadcasting, I am attracted to the possibility of communication situations for which the technology is so apt that one finds it reasonable to inquire if the needs, the conditions for which it is apt, existed before the technology. Such an assumption is consistent with my opinion that in media-assisted community development, the development dynamics, not media, are pivotal, although media may be present. In any event, I planned to focus on the technological properties of narrowcasting to extract socio-cultural implications of communication for development.

Attraction of Narrowcasting

One feature of narrowcasting technology is that its product commands attention. The content of television is electronically-transmitted, moving, colourful images and sounds which are engaging and attractive to many people. The data convincingly showed the final product of the narrowcast project in Buchans, the three days of material on Buchans which was transmitted to individual home television sets, captured the attention of most residents of the community. It captured them so securely that watching became a priority throughout the entire transmission period.

Respondents spoke of the lure of the content of narrowcast television:

> I sat down to watch a part of it...and I watched the whole damn lot.... I don't know why. Just when after it started, I got interested in it and I just stayed and stayed and stayed. (Matthew)

> The medium of television...to the ordinary person amazes and frightens sometimes. It's appealing because of the visuals, the sounds.... You're dealing with the availability of this amazing medium to everybody.... You're dealing with people, like I said, in a small community for whom television means something. (Ruby)

It's very—well, almost like a magnet. (Calvin)

The attraction people struggled to describe may have been the lure of the sensory stimulation of electronically transmitted images and sounds, sensations intensified in particular ways by the transformation of that electronic capacity to a context and content with which they were familiar. As attractive as narrowcasting of Buchans material was for the residents, the same sounds and sights of Buchans are only of passing interest to anyone else. Narrowcast materials from one community do not "travel" well to other communities. Edward Halls' concept of high and low context in communication offers a compelling explanation for the difference in interest levels from residents of Buchans in the output of BCTV, as compared to any other community's interest in the Buchans product (Hall, 1986).

In high context communication systems, substantial information about the topic or concern being addressed is already known to all parties in the communication act, and much can be safely taken for granted. Additionally, in high context communication, a context and capacity for interpreting a message is already within the person receiving it, so a message which appears unadorned or trivial to someone outside that high context reads differently to someone inside it. Hall suggests there are differences across cultures (and across communication acts) in "the ratio of stored information to transmitted information, both of which must be combined to produce...meaning" (Hall, 1986, p. 162). The viewer-participants of BCTV already possessed a great deal of stored information about Buchans.

While Hall confines himself to these concepts mainly with respect to culture, the ideas translate very well to narrowcasting in Buchans. The narrowcasting output held such high context for all residents that their already stored information "filled in all the space" around the transmitted information, creating a communication with extraordinary density of meaning; hence the explanation for the magnetic quality that one resident named. The lack of high context for viewers not party to the same degree of stored information necessitates much more explanation and orientation before the same amount of transmitted information has meaning, and would likely encourage commentary on production values before content. For Buchans residents, accustomed to television with low context, a television signal of even relatively undistinguished quality with meaning for their lives was novel and compelling.

Limited Range of Transmission

The capacity of the transmitter's signal was low (10 watts) and available only to households within a five-mile radius. Buchans is high on a flat plateau, with no hills or valleys to interfere with the direct signal from the transmitter to the antennas of homes there. Because Buchans is isolated—the nearest community being 24 miles away—residents were assured that the transmitted product would be available only to those who were directly and immediately involved in one of two ways. One way was the connection to the central issue being addressed, namely the future of Buchans. The second was connection and relationship, through kinship or friendship or both, with the people who staffed, managed, produced, and organized the development of materials for transmission, and those who appeared on camera.

Residents had different views on the significance of the limited range of the narrowcast transmission. Since their views were gathered after the fact and subsequent to an effort which was already judged to be very successful, respondents had every reason to be relaxed, indeed proud, as they said they were, about what had been accomplished. Not documented is their attitude towards that same issue while the initial planning was being undertaken. We are left to speculate on the extent to which they would have been at ease with their community's first effort in television production being distributed to audiences and communities who were not as engaged with the process or the product as they had been, indeed, who would be only spectators, not viewer-participants. It is reasonable to suggest that the preparatory planning process would have been affected by concerns about the reactions and impressions of people outside the community who would use "normal" and by now internalized broadcast standards for judging the importance, relevance, interest, and quality of Buchans Community Television.

The limited range of the transmitter signal essentially created a closed-circuit communication system, accessible only to those who were within its range as residents of Buchans. While that fact did not eliminate all risk of harsh judgement from community people about both content and technical quality, it did ensure a sense of intimacy and inclusion, with all viewers having the same set of reference for the material being transmitted. The entire project was shaped and executed in the knowledge that while Buchans would "be shown" to Buchans, it would not be telecast to anyone else. It was an insider's perspective transmitted only to those on the inside, with all of the freedoms and constraints such a relationship implies.

Delivery of Signal to Individual Homes and Telephone Feedback

The tremendous accessibility of a community dialogue conducted on television for all residents is so self-evident that it could be underrated, particularly because full participation of any group in discussing a significant change in their community life is so rare that few development workers have any experience with it. Television, radio, and telephones are the communication devices which are most likely to be in Canadian homes. In Buchans, all homes had television and telephone sets; therefore no more accessible communication mechanism could be found. Television was also a commodity accessible to all members of a particular household at the same time. Both television and telephones are mediums which were comprehensible and largely independent of developed skills in literacy, formal education, or adulthood.

People who were housebound because of mobility problems or home-based responsibilities were also able to view-participate. This feature was particularly relevant because it included women who did not traditionally participate in public events outside the home because of child care and household responsibilities. It is a rare public event in Newfoundland, not specifically tied to women's or children's issues, that is as well attended by women in the community as by men. Delivery of the community forum via home television sets created an unusual opportunity for equality of participation for both genders. One male resident commented on this new dynamic:

> I think if you go back and look at Buchans for what it was, it was a male dominated society, very much so. It was 1985 and this shouldn't happen, but it does. It happens everywhere still. Sitting at home in the living room was where in Buchans the wife usually got the cheque. But she didn't go out and she wasn't at the public meetings because someone had to baby sit the kids. You know, "We couldn't pay a baby

> sitter, two of us can't go to the meetings, so, George, you go to the meeting." At this time when there were major decisions to be made, possibly packing up and leaving or staying, I think that you had couples sit down, and from the information exchange sessions, dialogue in their living room and make the decision together. I think that was something...actually I never thought about that before we were just talking here. But it did happen. (Bruce)

The most fundamental requirement for success in a development project which impacts on an entire community is the involvement of all those whose lives are to be affected. Under such circumstances, it would be desirable that every member of that community be an active and engaged participant in the dialogue, decision-making, and action related to the community issue or concern. Development efforts generally consist of finding as many ways as possible to involve as many people as possible. Often these efforts fall far short of involving everybody for the usual well understood reasons, including time, resources, and interest. The result is that development workers often focus on "key" individuals. The Buchans narrowcasting effort was unusually effective in that the technology and accompanying process engaged every adult and youth in the community to an extent not possible with any other strategy or combination of strategies. The television delivery mechanism provided universal access.

Buchans residents were explicit about three other reasons why the television delivery technology was an apt choice for engaging most residents, and their comments hinted at a fourth. The first reason was a general one of convenience. The usual reasons why people who might be reluctant to leave their home for several

hours—fatigue, weather, unfamiliar settings, home responsibilities, an anticipated phone call, and the like—were not deterrents to participation from within the home.

> I think the main thing is that not everybody is available to go out to a theatre or community hall. So, it comes into your home. Someone said, "We're going to show you something [on television] at five o'clock." (I think they sent around a program.) I'll adjust my things that I do during the day, and I'll see that. I'll get out my television and watch that. So I think the main thing is convenience.... As an individual, the convenience if it being on television was that my duties kept me at home but I could still get it. (Gordon)

> The availability of it was number one, right in your own home. You're dealing with the availability of this medium. That's the first thing. The second thing, like I said, you're dealing with people in a small community to whom television means something. Everybody tunes in for that reason.... It's hard to get people out to conferences and it's hard to get people to read documents that are passed in through the doors.... TV is easier access for people. (Ruby)

> If you're in your own living room and this information is comin' at you, then I think you're more prone to turn up the volume if you have a hearing problem or sit back more relaxed. You're better able to grasp it, I think. (Bruce)

> You're asking why this was a success. People listened to it because they can sit in their own home. They're a lot more comfortable sitting at home. (Aubrey)

The last two quotations revealed an undercurrent hinting that the privacy and naturalness of the home environment was as important as the convenience. It seemed that some further barrier to concentration on the message was removed; a barrier that can be partially explained as a reduction in environmental noise around the receiver and the message (Shannon and Weaver, 1949). More latterly, attention to subjectivities within both parties engaged in a communication act is given more attention than the noise analogy, but it is a useful concept to express the extra dimension in the last quotations. It is noteworthy that the privatized reception and

the privatized response sites allowed and enhanced participation and interaction for some people.

The next two reasons were also intriguing. The home viewing site made it possible to engage those people who did not have enough information, curiosity, or interest to decide to participate prior to the start of the narrowcast transmission. In this case, the choice to check it out and then withdraw could be made without any penalty, unlike the awkwardness of leaving a public meeting if the event were structured as such. People with an initially low commitment to the exercise, for whatever reason, could make an assessment of the attraction and relevance of the experience for them without having to stay involved if they did not want to. Narrowcasting as strategy for residents' involvement allowed a greater diversity in the degree of initial interests than most other community forums do.

> When the panel discussions took place, we had people asking the questions and we had the phone-in. So when people saw some of the questions being answered by officials, they understood it a bit better. (Aubrey)

> Watching television at home, they [viewers] are behind the scenes and they are seeing what's going on. They don't have to participate. They can make a comment after but being more involved would be a lot of pressure for some people. They wouldn't want to be involved. (Calvin)

> You didn't have to go to a meeting.... You could turn it [television] on. Nobody knew if you were watching it or not, right?...You could participate privately and at no cost.... There was no investment.... You didn't have to vote. You didn't have to show yourself at a meeting. You didn't have to leave the house.... You could become involved with no investment. (Janet)

In addition to being an effective way to inveigle the initially uncommitted into participation by viewing, the invitation to participate by telephone from home freed

some people who could be reluctant to ask questions or make comments in more public forums. Few people could count on voice anonymity in the small community of Buchans; yet participation in the form of phoned-in questions arose from unexpected sources. These observations led to speculation that the home environment removed the reticence some people have of drawing attention to themselves in a public setting by asking questions. Telephoning from home appears to lower some of the threat and exposure which is attached to participating while being observed.

> Many is the times there were call-ins from individual people who probably never voiced opinions before. There was a sense of anonymity. You know, they can't see me. (Ruby)

> They were anonymous as far as they were concerned.... You're asking the question from your living room or your porch or wherever the telephone happens to be situated. You're sitting in your own home; I mean, you are in very comfortable surroundings. Nobody is looking at you standing up in the middle of the floor. All that makes an awful difference. (Clayton)

> You can call a meeting and only so many people are going to go. People feel a lot more comfortable in their own living rooms to pick up the telephone and ask their questions from there. (Aubrey)

> People are not threatened. People who wouldn't stand up at a public meeting phoned in on the phone-in to the panel members.... They're in their homes, there's sitting on the chair, they got a telephone there and he [viewer] thinks "That son of a bastard is wrong. I'm phonin' and telling him." It's different, it's more intimidating to stand there in front of two or three hundred people and say that. He's relaxed at home. (Rex)

Central Transmitter and Home Reception

The centralized transmission linked with privatized reception also raises questions, largely unanswered in my data, about whether it is better to have information which is to be used initially to make a private decision delivered under conditions of privacy. In Buchans, one of the sites for decision making about whether

to remain in the community was the family unit, hence the sensibility of making it accessible to all members of that unit, particularly both adult members in their home. As mentioned earlier, public forums would attract one or another partner, but not necessarily both.

The family decisions were also informed by the decision of the community at large. Families wanted to stay in Buchans if other members of the extended family, neighbours, and friends stayed, and the centralized transmission incorporated reactions from community members by phone-in which gave some indication of that. However, while the narrowcasting process provided *virtual* communal forms, it did not provide *literal/visual* communal forums and these may also have been useful. In a sense, the community spontaneously created some version of the latter in the large number of people who came to the studio at the end of each evening, the men who gathered to watch at the local bar, the groups of neighbours who watched together in someone's home, and the parties on the last evening. Deliberate creation of these opportunities at certain points in the course of events may have added a missing dimension for those who did not take matters into their own hands.

Still, one of the women, whose responsibilities kept her in the studio where she could see everything live and also on one of the television monitors there, remarked on her need to see the transmitted materials in her home.

> When the actual thing happened, when we were doing the transmission, I can remember running across the street [to her home], running across to see if it was on.... I wanted to see how it was to get it, how it would seem, right in my own house. (Ruby)

This is a tantalizing indication that the home context held a special "reality" for her, and hints that the setting in which information is received interacts with the information itself.

Scheduling, Sequencing, Pacing of Program

The technology of narrowcasting allows a particular deviation from broadcast television. This is the option of inventing and instituting programming conventions that relate to the nature of the task being addressed, the availability of the community residents to view-participate, and the benefit of pacing and sequencing according to dynamics arising from the content itself. The broadcasting conventions which can be breached by narrowcasting include program length, program scheduling, program sequencing, and program repetition. The option of deviating from broadcast television norms in program length, sequencing, and flow is pivotal to understanding how narrowcasting can be distinct from broadcast. The mainstream television model is so pervasive to us as viewers and producers, however, that we rarely examine the reasons for those conventions or query whether they facilitate a learning agenda.

Programs on broadcast television usually last between 30 and 60 minutes, including commercials. This length is to maximize sponsorship revenues. The programs themselves are not organized in a sequence or flow that has any semantic relationship. The deciding factor in scheduling or flow is to reach that segment of the audience which is of market interest at a time when they are available to watch. Broadcast television has a weekly format, presumably to allow the commercial

sponsors to remind viewers of their products at regularly spaced intervals (Dyer, 1982; Schiller, 1989).

Narrowcasting, as formulated in Buchans, did not automatically mimic unexamined program practices of broadcast television, although some similarity existed. The biggest adjustment was that the entire event was to be 24 hours in length, and transmitted on three consecutive nights from 4:00 p.m. to 12 midnight. Program flow was more like that of a conference or townhall meeting, with the presentation of Day Two building on that which was presented on Day One. Programs did not have strict time frames around them because flexibility was necessary for telephone call-ins. As with broadcast television, attention was given to airing programs oriented to certain age groups when they could be expected to watch (the children's story period in the late afternoon) and to variety and pacing (late evening local entertainment and talent performances), although the latter would be appropriate to townhall events as well.

The compact intensive nature of the programming was a focal point for all the energies in the community for the period of transmission and was organized as an integrated whole. Every segment related to other segments; understanding the significance of the prison option required an understanding of the contribution of MILAP, and so on. The review of the town's resources was undertaken in a compacted time frame so that viewer-participants could get their arms around the totality in a reasonably short period of time. This strategy also created a certain urgency in that no significant part of the community was absorbed in anything else.

Everyone concentrated on BCTV, creating a group who were all equally informed in the discussion throughout and immediately following.

The option of designing the formatting, sequence, and flow from the learning-for-development task and not from broadcast conventions seem to be the hardest preconception to dislodge when contrasting narrowcasting with broadcasting. This contrast is particularly a problem because the cousin of narrowcasting, the community channel of cable television, which need not have adopted broadcast television conventions seems to have uniformly done so. (More on the relationship between community channels and community narrowcasting follows in the implications section of the final chapter.) The potential of allowing the task, the learning, or the content to control the programming formats might be much more explored in understanding the use of this technology for learning and development.

Conclusion

Williams (1974) takes issue with the absence of intention in discussions about technology, and suggests that complex sets of social and cultural processes create the environment for the emergence of certain technologies. His argument is at the extreme macro-level. All the broadcasting technologies, he states, were a response to the increased awareness of mobility and change that was part of the ethos of the post-industrial age, an awareness that required new communication systems to address emerging issues of social perspective and orientation. To apply his thesis to a specific community and a specific technology, as has been done in this section, is both

simplistic and reductionist, and antithetical to his first principal that cause and effect relationships involving technology are part of an extremely complex cultural mix.

However, my abuse of his challenge to conventional cause-effect assumptions about technology, particularly television, has been a useful contrivance to force definition of a preliminary set of issues and dynamics in communication for development. Several precepts about the process in Buchans emerge here. Development dialogue was created through a local version of television and infused with meaning arising from the high context understanding which viewers themselves brought to the task. The result engaged community members continuously and avidly for 24 hours. The opportunity for a dialogue was confined to those who had created the dialogue and were directly impacted by the central themes of the communication, a dialogue which excluded the possibility of participation by non-residents. The process in Buchans was enhanced by technologies which made participation possible for literally every youth and adult member of the community. The combination of home television for receiving and home telephones for responding appears to have removed some barriers to involvement that would have been operational in public settings. The practical expression of this difference was convenience, although that interpretation masked the psychological freedoms which also accompanied participation from one's home. The home, the site for some level of decision-making related to the issues, was an appropriate place to receive the communication. The technology employed allowed for a contextualized and compact portrayal of issues in a relatively short, but intense, time period.

Clearly, many other socio-cultural interpretations can be drawn from the same set of assumptions about narrowcast technology. However, the limited number above serve to place communication for development in a context that is far more intricate and interwoven than the simple act of sending a message from a source to a receiver.

Community Narrowcasting and Learning-for-Development

In the literature review in Chapter II, I took the position that little agreement exists on what constitutes learning for community development, and that the field is far from developing a universally accepted model of learning-for-development, in spite of early attempts by people such as Roberts (1979) and Brookfield (1984). Some of the constraints are basic ones of definition of the core concepts, specifically *community* and *development*.

Communication, too, lacks a universal definition. Development communication—that aspect of inquiry which by its name speaks to the context of communication practice—is only now beginning to conceptualize its activities from the perspective of learning (Servaes, 1989). As outlined, this vein of research has lately acknowledged participation as a key concept (White, 1989), although development communication has had no more success with participation as a research variable than has adult education.

The difficulty may lie with the unbounded nature of learning in the social domain, and the uncharted territory between the social domain and the learning domain (Thomas, 1991). In community development, the primary role is that of

citizen, and the overall purpose is to achieve an end or a result. However, Thomas maintains that when new skills or new experiences are necessary for the attainment of that result, the primary role of citizen is exchanged for that of learner, although the operational domain can still be the social one. If such is the case, acknowledgment must be made that this is not initially a conscious exchange, since the language residents used in reference to narrowcasting most frequently arose from their role as citizen or community member, not learner. I have recast activities which were in the social domain for residents, as activities in the learning domain for purposes of this analysis. This duality may be a defining characteristic of community development.

Residents chose to describe the activities of BCTV in terms of action, problem solving, and communication. By implication, they revealed a great deal about the dynamics of learning-for-development. They also unearthed subtleties about learning-for-development which are generally unacknowledged.

Information in Learning-for-Development

One of the essential components of the Buchans narrowcasting process was that new information was distributed throughout the community. More precisely, information that was known to a small number of community leaders, who had assumed responsibility for investigating one or another particular option with respect to economic recovery, became prime time content for dissemination through narrowcasting. Since Buchans had myriad committees, members of one committee were also informed via narrowcasting of the progress and conclusions of other committees. BCTV had a body of substantive content to circulate.

The development of the communication agenda around information—which in retrospect the community residents considered to have been the crucial one—emerged over time during the "endless meetings" that the TV Planning and Coordinating Committee had with Leslie, Extension Service's field worker. Community transmitter projects on which Extension had collaborated in other communities did not give the same centrality to vital information for such a specific and urgent purpose around short and long-term decisions and action. This was not surprising, since no other community in which Extension had worked with the transmitter was at the same timely juncture. In 1985, Buchans was faced with devastating unemployment and the assumption of many influential officials that massive relocation was predestined even before the year was out. Even rural communities of Newfoundland largely dependent on disappearing northern cod stocks could anticipate a more sympathetic hearing from government about needed support for new economic initiatives. In contrast, "everyone" knew that mining communities could be expected to become ghost towns.

> The fishery crisis is gonna be here for a long tine. Fisheries stocks may grow back..... In Trepassey [fishing community coping with dramatic decline in fish catch], the fish will come back some time. But ore beds don't grow back. When you say the town [Buchans] is gonna die, it could very well happen. (Gus)

The fact that information for decision making was provided by the transmitter is a defining feature of the narrowcasting process in Buchans. Relevance was assured by circumstances in the community and the timing of the actual narrowcasting transmission. Within the transmission period, residents were provided with both an explanation of all the individual initiatives related to economic development and an

overview of the outlook for economic viability arising from an integration of the individual pieces.

The macro picture on community economics was presented in the context of a review of the features, facilities, and strengths of the community in social, cultural, educational, and religious terms. Residents learned about the activities which impinged on the town's future against the backdrop of the community as a holistic entity. Information provided in this manner linked personal and family decisions to community decisions. Since no one group had all the information, everyone in the community was learning something new.

Finally, knowledge of people in the community became recognized as information that was important, in fact, central to the assessment of the community's strengths.

Priority in Accessing Information in Learning-for-Development

Broadly-based learning occurred in Buchans with the distribution and circulation of information about economic initiatives. However, the shared questions about the community's future could not be answered before everybody had the same information to bring to bear on the deliberations. The development task was to provide everybody with the same information at the same time so that all members of the community could participate equally in the dialogue. This could only be done by combining concrete information about particular initiatives, contextualized information about the community, and general reactions to both—all information

arising from the community. Fortunately, the narrowcast technology had the capacity to transmit that information in the same form and at the same time to all members of the community.

In Buchans people were accustomed to receiving information informally. Housing is mainly in duplexes and quadraplexes, and highly concentrated as a result of ASARCO's interest in economies of water and sewerage provision and other amenities when designing the community. Thus, housing density contributed to an unusually rich informal grapevine.

> Once somebody says something of importance, the whole town knows it. (Matthew)

The accuracy and trustworthiness of the information is another matter however.

> There are always rumours. Buchans is a small town and anything that happens always happens fifteen different ways. (Rosalind)

Residents were very clear in identifying access to information about the community at the same time as everybody else, as an important and appreciated attribute of dialogue through narrowcasting. They relished knowing "first hand". All of the following observations are completely consistent with that theme, simply restated in slightly different ways.

> BCTV let you see first hand what was happening. It was one of the best things it could've done. You could see for three days straight first hand what was happening. (Emma)

> The information that was distributed was not private information but business that had been done with government or private industry. It was information that people wanted to hear first hand. (Bruce)

> Well, you know it's different when you get to see and hear the stuff yourself with your own eyes and ears. You don't have to take anyone's word for it. (Dora)

> Getting the scoop first hand was something I liked. It made me think I could have an opinion on this too. (Gordon)

> When you have information being given out in public meetings, the women got to wait until their husbands come home to hear what's going on. And if they end up staying too late at the club, you mightn't be too chatty with him for days. With the TV project, no one had to wait to get the low down 'cause the wives are just as good at watching TV as the men, maybe better. (Ruby)

> This is a small town you know and word gets around it all right and you repeat it too. But how right it is when it gets to you fourth or fifth hand, and how many times it's been turned inside out—well you can probably imagine. I didn't believe everything that come over the TV when it was all about Buchans by Buchaneers but you could tell for yourself who to believe and when to say "Well now, I have my doubts about that." (Gus)

The avid response of community residents to flattening the vertical nature of the usual communication chain speaks strongly of their preference for hearing significant information more directly than was customary. The intensity of that expression also pushed me to reflect more fully on the adage that information is power, and that when everyone has the same information at the same time, everyone is equally equipped to take a position in relation to it. Under such circumstances, everyone can examine the credibility of the information, make judgements about the authority of its presenter, listen for nuances, evasions, subtext, and do not need to depend on anyone else, with their filters and biases, to pass it on. When information is highly relevant to decision-making, its access at source is empowering. In a community setting, being in the same position in the line for that information as

everyone else—first—is a startling and unusual aspect of democracy in the circulation of information.

The mobilisation of a community may be influenced by what portion of its residents have the experience of obtaining "first hand" information simultaneously. If some portion of the community is informed in advance of others, uneven amounts of information about community concerns are available within the community at any one time. The impetus for action would be at a peak when a matter is fresh, but dissipated if people become engaged and concerned at different times.

During the period in which BCTV was operational, the communication and power dynamics of that rural community were drastically altered. Unlike normal conditions in any community, no one was more or less privileged or central to the community exercise by virtue of holding different amounts of information or having some parts of it before other members did. The narrowcast process created an ideal, empowering window of time in which there was virtually complete egalitarianism among residents in their ability to access and assess information as well as to provide it. This suggests that democracy in access to information is an under-considered factor in learning-for-development, and that how and when individuals gain access to information may be as important to their sense of inclusion and equality, and hence of involvement, as what they access.

Opportunity for Participation in Learning-for-Development

If narrowcasting had created a learning environment in which hierarchy was absent and where all residents were equal by virtue of equality of information, another requirement for learning was a means of responding to the selected and reshaped information which the community transmitter delivered via home television sets. An element which Extension introduced to the Buchans project was the telephone hotline as part of the information programming that completed the communication feedback loop. It gave viewers an immediate means of responding to the synthesized information to which they were exposed. That simple, but effective, phone-in device had been previously used with the community transmitter in some other communities. Extension staff liked the synergy of the community creating the programs, the programs being transmitted back to the community, and the community having the option of commenting on the content while the programming was still in progress.

As was the case with other ways in which the narrowcasting technology was used in Buchans, telephone participation was more focused and deliberate. This focus was particularly evident during the panel discussions on possible economic ventures which were being explored by various subcommittees in the community. When the density of the committee reports needed to be balanced by the reaction and thoughts of community residents outside of the initiating committee, telephone participation was employed. It became an invaluable part of the overall event. Examples are recounted in Chapter IV. Even if some people saved their questions and comments until the following week in the bar or the store, the telephone call-in modeled the

ideal of open dialogue and access between key committee heads and community residents, and contributed to the democratic nature of the full project. Here are four comments of increasing intensity about the feedback provided by the telephone call-in feature:

> We're putting together a show now on what's happening in this community at Christmas.... I bet you on Christmas Eve, that channel will have very many people watching.... But that's purely entertainment. What we did in '85 was entirely different. Our project then was to get interaction.... We wanted to get feedback from the people and then pass out direct information. (Aubrey)

> I can remember people phoning in and having telephone interviews. I see it as a way for the people to speak to the leaders of the community and ask questions that never got answered while they [the leaders] were talking on the television. It gave them an opportunity to say "Well I'd like to see this done. Can you get involved in this?" It was a good way for the people to voice their views and ask questions about what was being done. (Emma)

> The people had the opportunity through phone-ins to make their own suggestions and recommendations as to how we should be approaching issues. They did and they asked some very pointed questions. We wanted to know right through the three days—"Are we doing wrong? Should we be going another way?" People had the opportunity and used the opportunity to make their own recommendations to us on the phone. (Rex)

> If you called a meeting to discuss the Level Two designation of MILAP, you could pass out all this information in two hours but you wouldn't get all the people of the community to show up at a public meeting for that. If they did, people who are scared of crowds wouldn't talk. People wouldn't be able to ask questions like they did on the air on TV. There was no names required. They were anonymous as far as they were concerned so if they felt like asking their stupid question, they went ahead and asked their stupid question. (Clayton)

The deviation from patterns in Buchans' past may have been a factor in the significance of the opportunity to participate. As mentioned, Buchans was for many years a closed company town, and the company (ASARCO) wielded enormous

authority over all aspects of community life, including formal communication. Edicts, rules, decisions, changes, policies, and most public communication went in a one-way direction from the company to selected members of the community who would in turn relay information further along. Residents were practised in being "receivers", and had for fifty years been without a voice in the unidirectional flow of top down information in their community. With BCTV, they were actors in two ways: first, by being the original source of the transmitted information, and second, by being able to interact with the packaged information as they received/watched it.

In the last section, I made the point that receiving first hand information was empowering. This section adds the view that having the same possibility of equality as a source (or provider) of information and opinion was equally liberating.

Local Knowledge in Learning-for-Development

In exemplary adult education practice, emphasis is on recognition of the resources which adult learners bring into learning situations (Knowles, 1970). Increasingly, in development with a social change agenda, the assumption is that groups or communities facing problems have within themselves both the problem-solving ability and the capacity to fashion appropriate solutions. In Nerfin's "another development" (1977), this is characterized as development which is *endogenous*, coming from the heart of each society, and *self-reliant*, drawing on the strengths and resources of local people. Freire (1970), also, contrasts the banking concept of education to problem posing or libertarian education, and advocates horizontal

relationships between teacher and learner and among learners in order to realize the latter.

The narrowcasting process gives centrality and prominence to locally created knowledge. The data from interviews with residents of Buchans affirm the centrality of this concept for the learning-for-development that occurred in their community.

> The fact that people were being informed on issues and being entertained and being brought up to date on history by their own people was fundamental to the success of the project. Newfoundlanders, in general, don't take too well to people coming in from the outside and telling them about their own future. It was very important that people who were in the same boat passed on the information which made it that much more believable. (Rex)

Residents of Buchans had the opportunity to create a learning package of reflective and informative television programming about their community. The overarching focus of the package was a sombre and difficult one—the economic future of the town—but one which was presented and explored against the backdrop of a holistic and comprehensive overview of the community, a perspective only available to people who lived there. Civil servants, politicians, and economic agencies of the province, with some responsibility for troubled communities such as Buchans, narrowly focused on the grave state of affairs in the formal economic sector. In contrast, community residents took a different approach, worked from a lived sense of community complexity, and framed the issue of formal economic decline in light of other pertinent dimensions of vitality, viability, and validity of the community.

In specific terms, the Planning and Coordinating Committee for Buchans Community Television, along with an Extension field officer as consultant, chose to develop a three-day reflective tool to look at the immediate economic crisis in light of the town's history and its current features and realities. The latter included a review of the town's service clubs, social organizations, amenities, traditions, churches, recreation facilities, and talent of residents of many ages. The program tapped into the activities of many other community groups. Buchans' economic plight was not considered in isolation, but in the context of the totality of the community's resources. The indigenous knowledge in the community about which dimensions of community life were relevant went beyond understandings held by outsiders.

What Buchans residents did intuitively has support in the literature of sociology. Martindale (1972), in his study of social change and community development suggested that communities need to manage three issues to flourish and survive: mastery of nature, socialization, and social control. Matthews (1983) recasts these functions as economic viability, social vitality, and political validity. Moreover, he adds a further and important refinement by distinguishing between formal and informal dimensions of all three, in order to acknowledge the way "in which individuals are personally integrated into a community as well as the organizational integration of that community" (Matthews, 1983, p. 155). He provides examples of communities without formal economic viability that used resources from one or more of the other dimensions of a whole community to address the aspect in which there was deficiency. Buchans, too, is an example of a community which drew on social vitality and political validity to solve problems in the economic arena and in so doing

undertook a problem-solving process which was entirely unique by being grounded in local knowledge.

Residents were enormously proud that they learned from each other, and that, with a few exceptions, the information which needed to be brought to bear was available inside the confines of their community. Essentially, the transmitted "learning materials" were a graphic reminder to townspeople that they already possessed the resources to be self-reliant and that the source of detailed information and context about their problems was already in the community. ("You're learning from yourself." "It was your own people there and they were in there doing it all themselves." "By watching this, you're watching yourself.") A community which loses its traditional source of employment, which is written off by many outsiders as just a mining camp, which is reluctantly abandoned by long time residents who were passionate about their preference for remaining, would be of a mood to doubt itself and its capacity. The centrality which the narrowcasting process gave to indigenous knowledge renewed the pride in place and self which had been on the decline. ("The community most definitely felt better about itself again." "I think it made people feel good about themselves again." "It was a great uplifter.")

The foregoing section has identified four components of learning-for-development which had their origins in the community narrowcasting process. These are (1) the circulation of information inside the community to create a common knowledge base; (2) democracy in access to information; (3) opportunity for active participation; and (4) locally centred and locally generated information. These

components can be recast as criteria by which community media might be assessed for congruence with and facilitation of learning-for-development.

Learning-for-Development as Participatory Democracy

Much of the interest of adult educators in community development has focused on the learning of people in their role as citizens (Thomas, 1991), with emphasis on the role of participation and participatory modes of behaviour. As such, adult educators are joining traditional democratic theorists in a belief that a just society can be realized by "direct face-to-face participatory decision making within all major social institutions and with regard to all major societal decisions" (Greenberg, 1986, p. 17). Indeed, the current day use of "empowerment" owes much to C.B. MacPherson, the Canadian political philosopher, who defined empowerment as the state in which human beings are able to use and develop essentially human characteristics (MacPherson, 1973).

If or when participatory democracy is a feature of the larger picture to which community development activities are directed, it stands to reason that the processes of learning-for-development must in themselves be democratically formulated. Already in this section, reference has been made to democracy of information as one component of learning-for-development. Three other dimensions of democratic practice are encompassed by the narrowcasting model; namely participation and interaction, collectivity, and equality.

The first component, participation and interaction, is perhaps the most important. The learning-for-development in Buchans which narrowcasting supported was centrally structured around engaging the maximum number of people as creators of the experience, and as viewers and respondents to it. The first and last ways of participation are key since viewing only, even though of a more engaged stance than with broadcast television, would still have been somewhat anaemic. Instead, residents were active in the development and execution of BCTV from the conception to transmission, including responding to what they heard during the transmission.

Additionally, the first minutes of the program's opening established a pattern of two-way communication between the participant-viewers while the on-air hosts and presenters. Initially, viewers were encouraged to call to report on signal reception, a move which established the pattern of interaction between community members on air and community members watching from their homes. This changed the normal viewing posture in which passivity is the norm and the on-air content proceeds undisturbed by feedback from viewers. In its place, narrowcasting created a circular flow of information with input from off-air community members being as much a part of the narrowcast as that which originated from the studio. Probably as important as the exchange during the narrowcasting was the encouragement that the model provided for exchanges between community leaders and community residents, and among community members themselves, over the weeks and months to come.

A second instance of how democratically framed learning was built into the narrowcasting process in Buchans was the reliance on collectivity and cooperation.

Narrowcasting was not a process that could be accomplished by people participating in isolation from each other but only as part of an integrated whole. Collectivity was present in several different ways. First, the issue to be addressed concerned the community as a whole, even though individual families would make the decision to remain or relocate. The basis for that decision was, at least in part, whether there was sufficient conviction among enough people to keep the community reasonably intact. Second, the framework against which individual families could consider the question was an overview of the community as a whole—its potential economic options, its human resources, and its social, religious, and educational infrastructure. That framework was the outcome of a large number of volunteers in the community who worked together to set an agenda and collectively work out its component parts. Finally, the implementation of that agenda as a three-day local television project required cooperation on any number of tasks in order to create the whole. The collaborative nature of the preparatory process was a model of the collaboration needed if Buchans was to survive.

A third dimension of democratic practice in learning-for-development is equality among the engaged individuals participating in this collective and cooperative action. In adult learning classrooms, equality would begin with mutuality and lack of hierarchy between teacher and learner and respect for the contribution of all learners. In learning-for-development in Buchans, the issue was equality in the kind of information which each person accessed, the timing by which they received it, whether each person received it in the same form, and that information flowed in many ways. Those four elements together created the ideal moment of a level playing

field for all residents; level in that no one was more or less privileged in timing, content, direction, or form of information. Narrowcasting opened a fully egalitarian moment in which each person had the same resources and the same position from which to react or respond.

Learning-for-development in Buchans was democratically structured. The transmitter project resulted in the emergence of a temporary Athenian-like state with elements of full participatory democracy in which everyone had the possibility of entering as a citizen-actor. This shift in community dynamics to the ideal state and the subsequent loss of its symbol when the narrowcasting event finished was palpable to some.

> The day it was all over, when we went up to take the stuff down, when the boys were puttin' all their equipment away, that was a downer for the people involved. I'm not too sure about the entire community, but it was a downer for the 50 or 60 people directly involved. I know myself, it took maybe three or four weeks, maybe a month, before I really got over the feeling that there was something missing, something good. Yes, something good had happened and it might never happen again. (Clayton)

Conclusion

Freire (1970) uses the concept of a cultural circle (circulo de cultura) for a group of people engaged in cultural action. At the first level of analysis, this refers to a group of mutually supporting and exploring individuals who work together to gain understanding of their present day reality as a construct of the greater world during the process of learning to read and write.

Freire's circle analogy arises from his insistence that the process of learning is non-hierarchical and composed of teacher-students. While he grants a particular role to the teacher or the external agent, that person, too, enters the circle as a seeker of knowledge, a knowing subject. This contrasts with education in the banking model; the latter prescriptive, depositing, and reproductive of elites who teach and oppressed people who learn. A second facet of the cultural circle is intention; that is, not the whole community in its every day state, but the whole of the community engaged in focused activity of relevance to critical thinking. It is joined, made active, and whole by the act of being engaged in a process of new perspectives and expanded awareness.

Narrowcasting, as applied in Buchans, created a cultural circle for members of that community-circle to move to new realizations of their own condition. The circle consisted of a group of individuals, no one more teacher than student, who concentrated for an intensive period on their current and future reality, each able to contribute to and take from the process, with each contribution becoming more material for the learning of others. The process of feeding in as well as taking out kept the cultural circle an active one to which both activities contributed.

Narrowcasting as Critical Education Practice

Communication as Culture

A well developed critical literature on mass media exists now that includes a particular focus on broadcast television, and which views mass media as a pervasive source of influence on those whom it reaches (Schiller, 1973; Czitrom, 1982; Gitlin, 1980, 1983, 1986; Postman, 1985; and Chomsky and Herman, 1988). There is

disagreement about the nature and extent of that influence. For example, the "effects" school of mass communication theory was persuaded by its own research that media messages were not indiscriminately and passively accepted but were mainly influential in shoring up attitudes and beliefs already held.

More recently, media analysis has focused less on communication from the standpoint of a "transportation/transmission model" and more on communication as culture.

> Communication is viewed as a process through which a shared culture is created, modified, and transformed.... A [cultural] view of communication is not directed towards the extension of messages in space, but the maintenance of society in time...not the act of imparting information or influence, but the creation, representation, and celebration of shared beliefs. (Carey, 1975, p. 177)

As the literature review of this dissertation has indicated, this shift does not give less import to the pervasive impact of communication. Instead it signals an approach to comprehending media in relation to the larger societal context of which media is a part (Vipond, 1989). Indeed, this perspective holds that media, too, is an institution of society and contains frameworks and ideology that should also be subject to scrutiny.

Television in a Rural Context

Mass media has special significance in providing interpretations of the world for us. Television in particular is so pervasive and all encompassing that large segments of Canada's population have their judgement of what is significant or important shaped by its influence. In today's world, being broadcast on television, in and of itself, denotes the importance of persons, things, places, events. Television

measures and marks importance in time: 30 seconds for something middlingly important, 60 for something more "weighty". Status is imputed to the people and events portrayed on television. We have become so wedded to mass media in our current society that television not only reflects the world to us, many times it makes the world for us. Media reflect and shape our values. Gene Youngblood summarizes:

> The media for most people most of the time...specifies what's real and what's not (existence), what's important and what's not (priorities), what's good and what's bad (values) and what's related to what else and how (relations). (Youngblood in Vipond, 1989, p. 100)

In this framework, positive portrayals of rural communities are largely absent. As Gaventa writes about Appalachia, most of the content of television which reaches rural residents is alien to the local situation, and presents people from areas like the Appalachians as quaint and backward (Gaventa, 1980). In Buchans, at the time of the narrowcast project, the only television program which showed the lives of rural Newfoundlanders to other rural Newfoundlanders was a CBC (Newfoundland) program, *Land and Sea*. The program was one of many regional productions eliminated in the 1991 cost-cutting measures forced on the CBC.

McLuhan (1964) suggests that television has created a global village. That assumption has a particular poignancy for rural communities such as Buchans. In the metaphorical sense, it may be true that the world has moved closer together, and that what was once truly exotic and foreign is now familiar and known. Certainly, as Buchans residents acknowledge in interviews, they see and know about Detroit, Buffalo, Washington, Los Angeles, Toronto and St. John's; all brought to them courtesy of their television sets. However, Buchans residents, like most rural

residents do not see and know themselves in the same way. The same television technology which created the global village has rendered them invisible. They can peer into the global village but they are not inhabitants of it.

In the global context, apprehension is growing for the imbalance within world information systems, with western, mainly American, media making up the bulk of what is broadcast over the airwaves of developing countries. Dubbed *electronic colonization* by McPhail (1981), he defines the term as

> the dependency relationship established by the importation of communications hardware, foreign-produced software, along with engineers, technicians, and related information protocols, that vicariously establish a set of foreign norms, values and expectations which in varying degrees, may alter the domestic cultures and socialization process. (p. 20)

A concern with what is also known as media imperialism was one of the reasons why UNESCO established the McBride Commission. Its report, Many Voices, One World (1980), recognized both the imbalance of information sources and information flow and suggested remedial measures. The analysis of imbalance in communication and information distribution applies equally to urban and rural regions of Canada, admittedly without the force of a McBride report to document this asymmetry.

The Narrowcasting Alternative

The community narrowcasting technology which the Extension Service introduced in Buchans was not initially viewed with enthusiasm by the entire community. Key members of the Joint Action Committee were sceptical.

> To us [Joint Action Committee], it was marginal. We really didn't know if it was a good idea or not. We were scrambling around with other things and never really gave it that much thought. We looked at it as

> just another thorn in the side or another thing to get done. I was personally not all that interested in it. We had a mine closure to deal with. (Clayton)

Their instinctive scepticism said a great deal about the role of television in our world, and even more about its role in rural communities. Clayton's comment indicated that the idea of television was seen as irrelevant to the important issues of development and economic planning with which the town was grappling. Whatever function broadcast television did perform in Buchans, it was not perceived as helpful in the thinking, dialoguing, strategizing, and decisions of a town in crisis. Clayton's words bear out Postman's (1985) assertion that the effect of most media is inertia, with a negative ratio of information to action. Buchans needed a high information-action ratio as decisions were to be made, plans developed, and action necessary. Traditional media with its low ratio of information to action would not give support to that process.

The development task, one with many difficulties, was to envision, to "dream the reality" of a new community. Part of the challenge for inhabitants of Buchans was to see themselves and their community differently, an outcome which was documented in the previous chapter. Some in the community had a sense that widely-held conceptions of the community were obstacles to the new vision.

> One of our major problems was the image of the community. We recognized that we had a problem with the image of the community—that Buchans was a mining camp type thing. Once the mine goes, the reason for the existence of that camp goes, and it should be taken down. Everybody should move off somewhere else. Now that was an attitude that was prevalent through the province at this point in time. (Clayton)

In a fundamental manner, the residents of Buchans were trying to formulate and conceptualize a future in direct opposition to that attitude. Their past was the foundation of that effort but their future required more than a logical progression from the past. The conception of the future necessarily required the input of many people since the process was essentially a consensual act based as much on shared beliefs and values as on economics. Residents had no experience with media as a force for building community, for "creating the common outlooks that form the basis for a shared consciousness" (Vipond, 1989, p. 104).

Popular conceptions of media were ones which Extension staff had to acknowledge and move past as they attempted to present narrowcast television as an alternative.

> I must say Steve and Leslie did a fair job on us that morning [after the first meeting between the Committee, Steve and Leslie] in telling us what this could be used for.... But to me it was just a diversion, probably half the town might watch some of it that was about old times, but I never dreamed it could do what it done. (Clayton)

> What Leslie was trying to do [in the subsequent meetings between him and the Coordinating and Planning Committee] was try and make us make the best use of the community transmitter, not just an entertainment thing. I think he realized that's how we were looking at it. I believe the whole committee looked at it that way [entertainment] at the start, with the exception of Gerald Spurrell. I think Gerald might have had an inkling that this would be a good way to tell people in the community what was going on. (Clayton)

Buchans "On Television"

Given the rocky beginnings of the narrowcasting option and the subsequent enthusiasm which was generated (and documented in the last chapter), I sought understanding about why residents had eventually become so engaged. To do that,

I explored their relationship to broadcast television, although still in the context of their community and television. I asked if their community "got much coverage" on television. Their replies answered my direct question and also revealed important attitudes about externally controlled and externally created images of their town. In the following set of excerpts, their views on broadcast television range from resignation through to mockery and finally to anger.

> There was some little thing on about Buchans that Rex [former mayor] was fighting for. The penitentiary was a big issue...different little things like that, but now they're very rare. (Mildred)
>
> It wasn't a common experience...it was almost like if anything happened, say the layoffs, you'd see that on the CBC news. You'd get coverage there, but if there was something ordinary, I don't think so. (Ruby)
>
> Very minimal, very minimal coverage. I suppose you'd get a little coverage. Not a big lot though. We had a saying that the only time that CBC would say something about Buchans was when it was bad. When they'd show you scenes of Buchans, they'd show scenes of the barracks or the depressed areas. They wouldn't show you some of the pretty little spots around Buchans, some of the better kept properties. They'd always pick—you could see it—something bad, if you want it in a general word.... I don't know what the scene was in the minds of the people at CBC. I just don't know. (Gordon)
>
> Nothing of any importance, maybe some little short bits in the news, like *Here and Now* [CBC-Newfoundland news magazine program], but not a TV program as such.... There was just short items, like when the company [ASARCO] passed over what they were leaving behind to the Town Council, the machine shop and carpenter shop and the equipment involved in these buildings, there was a short—[laughs mockingly] well, I'd just say it was a commercial. Well, it wasn't really but it was similar. You know you had the mine manager, someone from the States [ASARCO head office official], someone from Abitibi Price [ASARCO's partner company], the group who were involved with the Red Indian Lake Development Association, but that [news item] was only a matter of a few minutes. (Wayne)
>
> Yeah, but what did we get? You get the sensational stuff. You'd never get a positive story. Then there are few positive stories to have certainly. Bloody old Clarence [town's pet caribou] gets all over 'em [news programs]. To me, that's rather petty, to have a pet caribou go

> on, with all the other problems we have here you know...[we could] have Larry Hudson [local CBC reporter who covered rural Newfoundland] do an interview...but again, it's edited and you only got that one minute clip, again people were not getting much information. (Gerald)
>
> What amount of information about Buchans do we get from regular television, you're asking? Ha! Scottish Football Association, Elayne...SFA, sweet f__ all is what we get. (Ralph)

Each reply illustrates some nuance of the perspective that the process of news gathering is what shapes the news, that news is decontextualized, and that technological and economic factors favour brevity and dramatic conflict, or entertainment and light relief (Cayley, 1983). Epstein (1973), Tuchman (1978), Gans (1980), Smythe (1981), Parenti (1986), and Gitlin (1986) all elaborate on that basic theme.

Wayne's quote serves as illustration. He said, "There was just short items, like when the company (ASARCO) passes over what they were leaving...I'd say it was just like a commercial." His comment could be taken as an indication that the press generally defines the news as what politicians say and the corporate class are doing. Hence, in Buchans the news coverage related to decisions of the company (ASARCO) and their representatives (Abitibi Price, the mine manager, and so on). Similarly the quote from Gerald illustrates the *pack journalism* syndrome (a term Gitlin attributes to Timothy Kraus) which draws attention to the similarity of interpretation from inside certain belief systems. One belief of much of the Canadian media is that rural Newfoundland communities are economically unsound, and are kept alive mainly through the largesse of the federal government's transfer payments. All the

quotations illustrate the kind of communication needs of rural communities which are not met by broadcast television.

A Different Form of Television

Buchans residents were also eloquent in telling me how BCTV differed from broadcast television, and in their eloquence they say a great deal about the satisfaction, pride, and ownership that was part of that experience.

> The format threw me for a loop in the sense it wasn't as impersonal as most television is. We had all kinds of things here. It was a community event, as well as an informational exchange. And the community event was what made it the success it was. (Bruce)

> People here are very polite when they answer media questions. But when you do that, you never know—is this going to end up on some desk in the Confederation Building [seat of the provincial legislature and civil service] or what's going to happen to it? (Rex)

> If you were going to watch a hockey game [on television], you won't sit down and watch Montreal and Toronto as close as you would, say Boston, if you had a relative playing for Boston. Because of the mixture of local people, it touched almost everybody's household. (Gerald)

> If you were a stranger to this place and you come in here [as an interviewer] to ask me questions about former years in the starting up of Buchans, there's be a lot of things you'd overlook through no fault of your own but due to the fact that you never lived in Buchans.... But Clayton [local man] interviewing me is quite a different picture altogether because from the time he was this height [indicated about two feet off the floor] up to the time his Dad died, he heard his Dad and his Mom talkin' over things or his Dad talkin' with his friends. Clayton was there probably not asking or saying one thing, but listening and taking it all in.... That really makes sense to me more so than a stranger who knew nothing of Buchans. (Wayne)

> You're watching something you have an interest in or been directly involved in. It is your own community and that reaches out to people more. It grabs hold of them and says, "This involves you, this is about you, about your home." (Emma)

> You have to differentiate here between regular network television and this, okay? I don't think regular television would work. This worked

> because you had time to explain the whole shooting match, not a one minute clip or two minutes if you are a big story. Most news is fired by you. Here, there was an hour and a half about MILAP [CEIC program of labour adjustment for older workers and highly relevant to former miners of Buchans]. (Ralph)
>
> CBC would only interview Rex [the mayor]. With this community television, it was the whole community. Anybody that wanted to be involved could've been involved. (Mildred)
>
> If CBC come in and do an interview and say, "Well this is what's happening in Buchans," you never really got the true story. You never got to the heart of the people. This was a way to get into the hearts of them and let them know what was happening. (Rosalind)

One of the major differences between broadcast and narrowcast television in Buchans was the domination of the airwaves with content and people situated in the town. Residents were endlessly intrigued by seeing local images on television. Indeed, among the most frequent requests telephoned to the studio for playback was for aerial footage of the town and its immediate surroundings. This is consistent with Extension's experience in other communities where people seemed quite content to watch unedited footage of the unembellished view a video camera captured from the side window of a car driven leisurely through the streets of the community.[4]

Mirrors and Looking Glasses

A partial explanation of the willingness to view such prosaic footage appears to lie in the fascination we all have in seeing ourselves, once removed, in any medium. This is akin to the appeal of the mirror, or the self-portrait. We look at ourselves to see what other people see; we become conscious of self, self-conscious.

Carpenter (1972) writes penetratingly of the initial response of individuals with externalized representations of themselves; whether that be their voices, their spoken words or their names in writing, or their photographs as stills or on film. He writes of the ability of the medium to reveal the "symbolic self outside the physical self" (p. 121) and the public and explicit form of that externalized self. The camera "holds the potential for self-viewing, self awareness" (p. 137). Of a photograph, he says, "It offers opportunities for self recognition, self-study. It provides the extra sensation of objectifying the self. It makes the self more real, more dramatic. For the subject, it's no longer enough to be; now he [sic] knows he is. He is conscious of himself" (p. 144).

While the cultures of which Carpenter wrote had little technology of any kind, this was not the case for Buchans. The town knew the technology of mining and of smelting and had access to all forms of modern communication media. For example, a cinema (movie theatre) was operational in Buchans well in advance of its presence in any other rural community in Newfoundland. Nevertheless, very few communities anywhere experience a holistic portrayal of their community brought to them by any medium. Carpenter's comments about the power of reflective instruments for the individual apply equally well to the experience of seeing one's community in toto. Narrowcast television offered an entire community the opportunity for community recognition and community study.

The experience residents had of seeing themselves, their family members, and neighbours in their place and roles in community life added another dimension to and context for the images. Here, people were shown in relation to the public life of a

small community. Public life in this context might be a evening class, the Boys and Girls Club, the church, the Lions Club, the school choir or a community concert, the prison committee or the Craft Shop. In a very real way, the people of Buchans were also seeing their community for the first time.

One of Schiller's observations about the media is that what it portrays is individualistic and personalistic (1989). Issues and people are essentially presented without a full social context. Individuals might belong to a family unit or a work team, but the larger social context of group, class, and community is missing. Conflict, for example, resides in individual pathology, devoid of the larger social ingredients which contribute to it. Narrowcasting in Buchans did not adhere to this trait of broadcast television programming. On the contrary, as one community member later said, community television was like a big mirror up on the hill where the community could look up and see itself.[5]

The local context of using narrowcast television as a major support to community development has several different dimensions. Buchans residents might be rural; outside the North American susceptibility to television's blanket of status and legitimacy, they were not. They reasoned inductively; if they were on television, they were important.

> You're out there watching your own local buddies, people that you know, that you meet every day. They're all of a sudden on this little box that normally you're seeing people from Ottawa and people from Toronto and they're doing a good job and they're holding your attention and it's interesting. They're making it very interesting to watch. (Clayton)

> I think the importance of the information and the fact that it was being done on TV made people pay attention to what was said. (Mildred)
>
> On TV we see important things, we see important people. When you and I are the people who are talking about our community issues or singing our community songs or displaying our local talent, it has that uplifting effect. Is it because we are as good as the other things that are on television? We get that way by association with television. (Rosalind)
>
> There's Evelynn Dawe. She's 70 years old and she's never been on television. Well there she is now, she's on television. Great that she can be on television with the odd story. I mean she probably told you the story a dozen times before but it seems to add something different when it was going out to everybody [via television]. (Ralph)

Speaking the Word; Naming the World

Seeing people known to them was one of the features of narrowcast television of which residents spoke repeatedly. Seeing themselves, their friends, and their neighbours on BCTV was equated to seeing their community. Being taught and informed by themselves, reflecting on self-in-community, was crucial. That notion is the central point in each of the quotations which follow:

> People could see themselves which they wouldn't normally do watching CBC or NTV. This way you're learning from yourself. You're watching yourself give a lot of information. (Gerald)
>
> It was your own people there and they were in there doing it all by themselves. When I say we were watching ourselves, I don't mean that Jack Hearn [local resident] looked at Jack Hearn but Jack Hearn looked at Mrs. Dorren...because they were friends, see. (Ralph)
>
> Say you're watching the [CBC] *National*, you're watching the other side of the world. By watching this project, you are watching yourself. People could see themselves, see inside, really see what's going on around you.... That was the main key—the information plus the people with themselves. (Calvin)
>
> You're looking at yourself—that was the difference—me, or somebody you know. When I was interviewing one of the small business people here, it was me and it was someone who was running this little

> business. I know both these people and what they are going to say, right? So even if you weren't there yourself, you knew everybody. You were wondering "What's she going to say? What are they going to say? What's going to happen now? What are they going to do now?" It's just the looking at yourself. (Janet)
>
> It [BCTV] drew everybody. It's strange isn't it? They were seeing themselves on television or the friend next door, or a daughter or son. We were looking at ourselves. (Emma)
>
> We were showing the people themselves. The people that had an involvement were being educated. They were the ones.... We were educating the people themselves, people that had the most to win or lose. (Margaret)
>
> People just saw themselves as they are and liked it. (Lloyd)

In the above, residents were expressing the satisfaction of attending to an inside perspective instead of an outside perspective, an attribute of narrowcasting which broadcasting does not have. They were giving voice to the deep satisfaction felt by people in development who are learning from themselves, whose learning was founded on knowledge which was endogenous and self-reliant (Nerfin, 1977). In the case of Buchans, that knowledge "stemmed from the heart" because it spoke both to values and vision; the values which residents accorded to the quality of life they had created in Buchans, and the vision that in community—together—ways could be found to enable the community to survive. It was self reliant because it grew from the energies, resources, and commitment of both established leaders and a widening circle of active residents inside the community. Although in speaking to me, many residents stressed the necessity of sharing information, equally important was the sharing of hopes, dreams, and longing in conjunction with information. As Carey indicated, it was not the imparting of concrete information which was ultimately so important but the "creation, representation, and celebration of shared values" (1975, p. 177).

Seeing oneself was not essential to the sense of pride and cohesion that emerged among community residents, except that those individual images, massed together, made up the community. Similarly, residents valued seeing people they knew well, or took pride in knowing that the television production which they were seeing was brought to them by those close to them, in many cases, family members. Again, the narrowcast dimension of BCTV, by definition and in contrast to broadcast television, promoted that. In broadcast television, program development and audience development are two separate processes. In narrowcast television, the two processes occur simultaneously. Literally, only narrowness, not distance (broadness), is apparent between the makers and the viewers, as they were one and the same. The way in which the programming was planned and built cast a web which snared the greater part of the Buchans population as an audience. Here is how residents expressed that feeling:

> Your mom is watching, watching a granddaughter, watching a daughter, watching a son-in-law. Where the town is small and you had local talent appearing, the different panels, the schools, the community television thing touched pretty well everyone in the town. They [local television crew] were here in the store [local retail outlet] and they interviewed. They did the library. They did the Craft Shop. Obviously, you're going to go home and watch your friend, your cousin. Through someone, everyone was involved in it. (Aubrey)

> One thing about a small town; you're related to everybody so most would be related to the four or five kids who were cameramen, for instance. At least, they were living next door or on the same street as the young kid who was going around with the adults doing the interviews. (Ralph)

> I would look at it because I had a son and daughter taking part in the entertainment. I'd sit down and watch them and no doubt I never missed anything. (Gus)

> For several months we went around the community, and did interviews with Girl Guides, libraries, students, the adults in the community. We used those tapes while the program [BCTV transmission] was on. So

> it wasn't exactly what was happening in those three days. It was a build up beforehand.... Everybody headed for their sets because they wanted to see their friends on TV. (Emma)
>
> Everett Hodder [Extension staff member] read a story to a group of little kids who were on camera with him. So that was another little thing that made people watch. (Rosalind)
>
> I might have been outside doing something until dark, but when I come in, the kids in the house were all watching of course. So I'd start. (Matthew)
>
> Having Jake on singing, or Terry on singin' or Uncle George Byrne on singin'—people saw this. It was better than professional entertainment that you get on the regular TV networks because it's your own. (Ralph)
>
> Johnny—whoever—is up at a camera producing an interview or filming an interview. He's the guy that's doing it and he's in Grade 10 or Grade 11. And he talks to his parents about it at the supper table, then they're going to have an interest in what he's doing, right? (Bruce)
>
> Mom would be out telling the neighbour as she was hanging out her clothes [on the clothesline], "That was my Susie last night, filming or producing the sound." (Dora)

Adult educators active in progressive forms of development practice have raised questions about the creation of knowledge as it relates to learning, including learning through research. Hall, Gillette, and Tandon note that the tendency for research to move from systematic observation to increasingly technical interpretations of reality also "had the effect of transferring the power of creating knowledge to those who possess the technical skills seemingly required by the paradigm in use" (Hall et al., 1982, p. 7). In research this tendency can be combatted by returning to more naturalistic forms of data gathering and data analysis. Similarly, media-assisted learning-for-development requires less sophistication in technical production, with the result that basic skills of knowledge production by media can be taught to almost anyone who cares to learn. In both instances, the monopoly of professionals on

knowledge creation is broken and community members can begin the process of constructing their own knowledge, knowledge considerably less distorted and more likely to be understood than that produced by professionals.

The interest in keeping the tools of expression and knowledge in the hands of those who can immediately use what is produced by those tools is also echoed by communication theorists interested in democratizing the communication act. Habermas's *ideal speech situation*, a condition necessary for a healthy and vibrant public life, posits "adequate opportunity to acquire skills of discourse (including the technical skills of basic media [my emphasis])" as one of four prerequisites (Habermas in Crowley, 1982, p. 143). Similarly, Enzensberger advances the possibility of emancipatory media, in which two-way communication occurs when transmitters and receivers have the capacity to transfer roles at will (Enzensberger, 1974). Narrowcasting approached that ideal because it introduced telephones as transmitters, allowing each person with a television set as a receiver to also become a transmitter.

Ownership and Control

While the community had technical control over many of the tools of the media transaction, Extension staff were in a position to exert a great deal of influence because of their previous experience with similar technologies and similar development processes. Under any circumstances, querying who controls the message and who controls the medium is revealing. Indeed, questions of control are central to de-coding media transactions. Being alert to manipulation, bias, and preconception is necessary. Similarly, in seeking to understand teaching-learning transactions in

the context of development, the ever present question arises about who is really in charge and whose vision of development is being perpetrated.

In Buchans, the Extension Service was engaged in development work with a rural community which was largely dependent on a technology to which residents had no previous exposure. In engaging substantial portions of that community in using the technology as a tool for development, Extension had many opportunities for both subtle and explicit control. I asked how that potential had been used and that report follows. I have chosen to include a comment from as many respondents as had an opinion to offer because the issue is so central to questions of ethics when professionals work with "ordinary" citizens in a development context:

> The community owned this project. It was theirs.... They were the ones who were on this. It wasn't the University's. (Margaret)
>
> You [Extension Service] provided the catalyst. I mean you helped things along. (Gordon)
>
> With Leslie's [Extension field worker] guidance, it changed, not somewhat, but drastically, from a celebration to an information event. (Rex)
>
> Everybody had a [television] set. They were home and they were watching themselves on the television, right? They knew it was their kids takin' part in it. You know the kids were the cameramen, the interviewers—it was their own, you know. (Ralph)
>
> I mean a lot of friends were made. They [Extension] were coming right into the community and staying here for, lord, these many weeks while the planning was going on. The same basic crowd and Leslie was back and forth all the time and friendships build up. Really, I think that what happened is not that they were invisible but they were just these people who were helping us to do this thing. (Rosalind)
>
> The people [Extension staff] that helped us put off the project are so used to community development that they knew the type of mixture that they were looking for. They made sure it wasn't the same few

people who were on the air all the time. Now I think that was good. I don't know if it was done on purpose. (Aubrey)

I think that there were other pilot programs like this in other communities and I think that they [Extension] sort of took a pattern from those other communities and sorta tried to see if it would fit into our community. (Mildred)

It was a lot of local people doing the interviewing. And I think they worked on the cameras. They were the ones who thought up what we should present. (Bruce)

Now the people from MUN [Memorial University of Newfoundland] did have some input, like probably if we didn't know which questions to ask or whatever, Boyd might say, "Well, you could get around it this way" but they let people pretty much do what they wanted to do.... No, it was mostly community done. Most of the interviews were decided upon amongst the community people who were involved in doing the interviewing. (Dora)

Steve and Leslie [Extension staff] saw what we saw and their motive was our motive. (Wayne)

They (BCTV committee) had pretty good coaching.... The coach was on the sidelines at all times. (Gus)

The content was what we wanted it to be. The amount of information I had at the very beginning was very basic. As time went on, we [committee] got into it and we would say, we can really use this thing. We can use it in more ways then it was set out to use, more ways than ever MUN Extension thinks. We can go over and above the objectives. (Ruby)

They [Extension] gave us the impressions that they weren't just here for today. They were here to give us a hand, help us develop ourselves.... I got the impression they were trying to give the people confidence to develop some of the latent skills they had. (Gordon)

At the first meeting when Steve was planing on trying to turn us down, the agenda for the programming had already been set for two, maybe three days. Over three months, Leslie questioned every piece of that agenda and every program they planned to have on—not because he didn't believe it was important, but he felt it was very important that the people knew why they were doing these types of programming and from that questioning three or four agendas got torn up and eventually one was acceptable. (Lloyd)

> I really believe that it was people from the University, Steve and Leslie and Boyd [Extension staff], not necessarily having an agenda I suppose but they knew more about the process than we did and I think they guided us through it. Of course, I think they got some surprises too. I think they were surprised in the ability of people to do what they done on such short notice. Of course, they got involved with it, personally involved with it. I think they did anyway. I know Boyd did and I'm sure Steve and Leslie did too. Whether that's a good thing or not, I'm not sure. (Clayton)

> I don't think Dennis [first Extension staff member to go to Buchans] had any input into this agenda or programming for three days. I think it was three days they originally planned. This was done by the people, this ad hoc committee. I think Dennis might have been as surprised as anybody else to see that it had gotten this far. (Gerald)

> I personally can't see a group of people from Memorial [University] coming in and saying, "Well, we'll discuss some topic on your television program" when they couldn't get at the root of the topic. It's the people that know what's going on in the community and they're the ones, you know, to be involved in it, to plan it, to be on the television. Extension Service provided a great service to reach out. They showed the people of the community how to go about it, but they can't go into the community and say, "You've got to do this." They gave us some kind of reference or outline or show the people what they want to do, but the main thoughts of the community has to come out into the program, not the Extension Service. (Emma)

In summary, these comments indicate that Extension had both influence and played a crucial role. However, the comments also confirm that members of the community had a clear sense of ownership and control; they were never in doubt that this project was rooted in their own community and grew from within themselves.

Conclusion

Freire (1985) insists that literacy learners and peasants cannot break from their culture of silence without an authentic moment wherein they repossess an action generally confined to the elite—the action of naming the world. I read Freire on

cultural action for freedom both literally and allegorically. Literally he proposes a particular methodology for literacy learning based on gaining access to generative words and themes, a tactic which is possible in the Portuguese language. Figuratively, however, his philosophy of starting from inside the learner's world and moving in dialogue and trust with the learner to new levels of critical awareness transcends any particular language or learning content.

While I had expected to be able to recast narrowcasting as practised in Buchans as cultural action for freedom, I was startled to see direct parallels between Freire's literacy methodology and the narrowcasting process. The unexpected applicability of literacy learning to media-assisted learning-for-development in Buchans may stem from parallels between Freire's original interest in linguistics, philology, and the philosophy of language, as well as the basic issues in communication. Certainly, it is the case that surprising numbers of communication scholars have backgrounds in linguistics and literature; Chomsky and McLuhan being two examples.

Freire stresses the imperative of literacy learners speaking their own word, of naming the world, and of naming as a step towards transforming that world. He presents naming as an essential human action.

> Man [sic] is the only one to treat not only his actions but his very self as the object of his reflection; this capacity distinguishes him from the animals, which are unable to separate themselves from their activity and therefore unable to reflect on it.... Because they do not "take it on" they cannot reflect it; and if they do not construct it, they cannot transform its configuration. (Freire, 1970a, p. 88)

In Buchans, the process and availability of the media permitted local people to say their own words and to name their own world. Speaking the word implies both reflection and action as the words were the construction of portrayals of various parts of community life, in the form of electronically captured and electronically transmitted sounds and images. As a group, residents of Buchans named their world by creating it in a form that could be comprehended and reflected upon by everybody in the community.

The act of saying the word, of naming the world, was multi-faceted and broadly shared throughout the community. The youth who operated a camera during the live transmission of the panels on economic explorations "said the word" as surely as did the people who decided to structure such a panel. Similarly, those who appeared on a panel or those who used the telephone call-in feature to react to the initial commentary also said the word and named their world, as did others who continued the dialogue in other forms during the following weeks.

Given media, Buchans residents entered the knowledge production process by shaping their own voices to begin a community dialogue. By the choices they made for 24 hours of community programming, they named the material and historical situation of Buchans, creating codifications which gave residents distance from the knowable object. If, as Freire suggests, in a condition of conscientization agents become subjects, once Buchans began creating itself through narrowcasting as an object for reflection, conscientization had begun. "To exist humanly is to name the

world, to change it. Once named, the world in its turn reappears to the namers as a problem and requires of them a new meaning" (Freire, 1970a, p. 76).

I am not implying that the transforming or the dreaming of new realities was completed when the narrowcast transmission was over. It was not. In the Buchans example of narrowcasting, a group of innovators with ambitious and difficult goals captured television technology and television mythology and used them both to serve a community agenda. The inversion of power in this instance was real (Wilden, 1980). Because the technology, the phenomenon of television was removed from normal commercial parameters, people became the subjects of their own learning, and they used the technology to dream a new reality. Narrowcasting was the means by which Buchans did the collective dreaming, the force and remnants of which were sufficiently powerful to guide many of the highly practical actions needed to take the dream to reality. As Carl Jung (1963) implies, "The dream drives the action".[6]

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The previous three chapters (Chapter IV, V, and VI) have provided an illuminative case study of an innovation in the practice of small media in community development.

The case study in Chapter IV dealt with learning and development activities in Buchans over a six-month period leading up to the narrowcast transmission of local material produced by the community. The chapter documented the important process of learning-for-development which preceded and included transmission by narrowcast technology. The chapter showed that the myriad of activities leading into the transmission were integral to the potential of narrowcast television for community development. Such activities are under-valued and misunderstood if seen only as the "work" necessary to put a narrowcast transmission on the air. The lead time for Buchans Community Television was a period in which a key group of individuals from the community reflected intensely on practical and philosophical questions of community regeneration. Sometimes with the assistance of the Extension Service field worker, sometimes without him, the group structured the forum which invited the community at large into a more accessible version of the same dialogue.

Chapter V (Transformations) centred on the changes in the community that community members identified with the six-month process which culminated in

narrowcasting the pre-taped and live program about circumstances in and choices for Buchans. These changes included a number of significant transformations. The first of these was the reversal of the depressed and disheartened atmosphere that lay over a community that saw itself slipping into oblivion. A renewal of pride in the community and its people, and the generation of community cohesion and unity (in contrast to the previous factionalism and alienation) was the second transformation. Belief and confidence in the capacity of self, other community members, and the community at large to address the numbing problems which beset Buchans grew substantially. Everyone gained a previously missing base of equality from which to enter the community dialogue as a result of a commonly held data base of information pertinent to the issues facing Buchans.

Community leaders were revitalized by the certainty of the community's support to proceed in controversial directions that had survived open community debate and discussions. Not only did the community affirm the directions being explored by the community leadership, it expressed confidence in and direct support for a number of individuals who had taken on leadership roles, thus essentially renewing the social contract between community leaders and community residents. As a result, those same leaders redoubled their commitment to the community. This proved to be of vital importance for Buchans because the development process was long, and arduous, and suffered staggering setbacks, sometimes with personal implications for those providing leadership. The final result which residents attributed to the narrowcast project was a renewed interest in community economic

affairs from people who had lost their previous zest for involvement and new interest from those previously unengaged.

Chapter VI (Reflections on the Narrowcasting Medium) described how and why the narrowcasting process functioned as a development strategy in Buchans. Three interrelated propositions were at the heart of the strategy. While each one might be sufficient by itself to explain some degree of community animation, the combination and integration of all three is what holds the answer to the question which stimulated this research. The chapter also answered the queries "What is the explanation for the emancipatory force which Buchans residents represented the narrowcasting process as being in their lives and in their community?" and "How and why did narrowcasting make a difference in Buchans?"

Chapter VI uncovered three force fields of influence (1) an organization of communication dynamics along dimensions oriented to and congruent with the development agenda (2) a community-wide learning process founded in democratic practice and (3) adaptation of and mastery over a medium in a manner which countered the hegemonic influence of mainstream television in favour of community empowerment. These fields of influence gained their explanatory strength by being three different layers of the same process, each reinforcing and interlocking with the other two. They are three separate strands only for analysis because it was the particular integration and interweaving of communication, learning, and media counter-hegemony that created a significant and contributory force to support the efforts of Buchans's citizens to create an alternative future.

Implications for Practice, Research, and Policy

Most of the implications for practice apply to those adult educators whose work involves them in community development defined as "the liberation of human creative potential and the mobilization of human resources for the solution of human problems" (Hall et al., p. 23). I refer to those practitioners as development workers or community developers to indicate that their choice of educational response includes nonformal learning in addition to formal educational activities. Four implications are specific to adult educators employed by formal educational institutions which provide continuing education, extension services, and educational outreach. I acknowledge that some development workers and community developers work in formal educational institutions that also engage in the facilitation of nonformal learning, although in Canada, this is more the exception than the rule.

Implications for practice

Implications for development workers and continuing education professionals. The major implication of this research for both groups lies in the fact that media and communication, particularly television, are potentially a larger component of learning-based development than is currently recognized within adult education practice or research. Television is a major force in society that constrains or facilitates many development issues. Lack of acknowledgement of the extent of television's role seriously obscures an appreciation of it as a major source of negative influence on community development, an influence that is generally indirect and subtle, but nonetheless powerful. Sullivan's contention that "the mass media of television itself has become the most powerful instrument for value formation within our culture

today" (Sullivan, 1987, p. 57) is true of value formation relevant to community development. Broadcast television, if unexamined or regarded as either neutral or impartial, acts as a hegemonic force antithetical to community development.

In particular, television puts rural or otherwise marginalized populations at risk by excluding anything but the most perfunctory acknowledgement of their existence. People rendered virtually invisible by the same technology that gives prominence to other people, places, and things are in danger of internalizing the judgements that mass media imply by inclusion and exclusion. My data indicated that residents of Buchans had considerable intuitive understanding of the disservice which broadcast television did to their community and to their tenuous hold on their problems and by implication, themselves, as worthy of respect and attention. Two such comments are: "Bloody old Clarence [pet caribou] get's all over them [news programs]. To me that's rather petty to have a pet caribou go on, with all the other problems we have here," and, "We had a saying that the only time the CBC would say something about Buchans was when it was bad." The data about the differences between narrowcasting and broadcasting raised the question of whether locally controlled and development focused media could be added to the strategies that Sim proposed for the regeneration of meaningful community life in the "new" rural community. For Sim, almost all rural communities are "new" in the sense that few now rely so exclusively on internal resources as most did in the past (Sim, 1988). Development workers seeking to understand the totality of the forces of society and structure that impinge on those whom television excludes would be advised to consider Sullivan's call for a critical pedagogy of television (Sullivan, 1987).

The second implication of this research is that within mass media, including television, the possibility of both counter hegemony and alternate hegemony is present (Williams, 1977). While this dissertation speaks to only one concrete Canadian example, others such as native broadcast in the present, community radio in the near past, and some community channels of cable television are positive indications that recipients of traditional media can forego the role of consumer/spectator for the role of social actor. To paraphrase Crowley (1982) on Williams, hegemonic processes of mass media—television in this instance—can be transformative, not only formative. This dissertation has illustrated that emancipatory media practice pays dividends in empowerment both as an end in itself and as part of critical educational practice on other social and political issues.

In spite of the impact of media on development, I am not aware of graduate level programs for adult educators that examine emancipatory media practices. However, within communication, a subfield known as development communication (or development support communication) exists. It is a matter for debate why development communication practice is almost uniformly international in nature. This tendency is particularly puzzling when the "Fogo Process in Communication" figures so prominently in development communication history, and was the pioneering work in the late 1960s of a Canadian university extension department—the same department which went on to experiment with the narrowcasting process described in this dissertation. A partial explanation lies in Canada's blanket status as a developed country. This assumption is more a product of gross economic measures for the entire country than attentive to the increasingly fragile rural component of the

country, or areas and neighbourhoods within cities which do not share this designation of "developed". The fact that development communication is understood to be an international phenomenon and rarely a Canadian one is all the more ironic since the technological means for pursuing such activities is infinitely more available in this country than in many developing countries, which usually must import the technology from the West.

Community developers and adult educators can find much historical precedent in the struggle to make or regain the media as a democratic force in the community and public life. Both Walter Lippmann (1922) and John Dewey (1927) took up the issue of the contribution of the mass media to public life. Later, Enzensberger (1974), Henderson (1978), and Berry (1988) added their voices to the case for an alternative media. Enzensberger's vision was of decentralized user-controlled media with reciprocal capacity for both sending and receiving. Henderson commented on the negative sanctions that media wield by ignoring certain people, movements, and issues. She identified access to media as a political battle and advocated both pressure to democratize mass media and support for underground or innovative media. Berry's belief about the need for *bioregions*, that is, "identifiable geographic areas of interacting life systems that are relatively self-sustaining" (Berry, 1988, p. 166) supports Alex Sim's case for community regeneration.

Narrowcasting, as presented in this dissertation, is one strategy for both democratizing the media and simultaneously facilitating certain development tasks in rural communities. Development workers who read this thesis may assume that

the technological resources, particularly the transmitter and media expertise which were part of the Buchans case study, would be difficult to replicate or adapt for use elsewhere. Just the opposite is true for any community which receives cable television, estimated as of 1990 to be 75 percent of the total 9.5 million households in Canada.[7]

All cable television operators have the technical capacity to transmit locally produced material by virtue of the *headend* component of their enterprise, that is, the point at which television signals are received, amplified, and transmitted along a *trunkline* eventually into individual homes. (See Appendix A for diagram of cable systems.) Additionally, the majority of cable operators are required as a condition of the licence issued to them by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunication Commission (CRTC) to *reserve* a channel for community purposes, defined as public service for free access and community expression. Approximately half are also required to *activate* the channel towards that end.[8]

Activation usually entails the actual production and transmission of local materials through the provision of video/television equipment, studio space and personnel. The result of the requirements of the CRTC and subsequent activation by many cable operations is that many communities today have what is commonly known as a community channel. The goals which the CRTC has established for community channels are compatible with development-focused uses such as those described in this dissertation. Central to these goals is citizen participation. In summary then, through the community channels of cable television systems, most communities have

an in-community source of the technical capacity for transmission of locally produced materials, and many have the video equipment and studio resources which development workers would require for adaptations of the "Buchans Process" in their communities.

Some issues can be anticipated. It is likely that the pervasive model and current patterns of community channels, which mimic broadcast television in most ways except for the focus on local content, will cloud an immediate grasp of the possibility of using the community channel for development purposes. Concerns will range from anticipated poor quality in production values if amateurs are given access to the equipment to fears that the inexperienced might inadvertently damage expensive items.

A further issue could be that the cable operator has developed a studio which requires professional expertise to operate, again taking cues from the broadcast television industry. In spite of CRTC's policy of encouraging community involvement in community programming, some cable operators see their role in the community as assisting a limited number of local people to gain media experience helpful to them as budding media professionals. They may be nonplussed by a group which has interests mainly in applications that are radically different from broadcast television and conventional media. Decisions to support a facility useful to novice media aficionados are not necessarily compatible with the goals of those interested in media for a specific application of learning-for-development.

If cable operators are willing to transmit material through the headend of their systems but hesitant to allow community groups the hands-on use of company video equipment, the simple home video units that people now increasingly own can be pressed into service. Some community groups in Newfoundland have chosen to raise and invest $4000 to acquire user-friendly low-format video equipment after they experienced too many constraints with borrowing equipment owned by a cable operator. (See list in Appendix E of equipment needed for pre-transmission phase.) Such action is a practical solution when cable operators have only one set of equipment for several communities in their areas or are too far away for convenience. If editing facilities are a problem, sometimes schools have basic editing suites. The newly relaxed regulations on advertising on the community channel also open up the possibility of sponsorship of narrowcast projects by community businesses, large community employers, and agencies.

Unless the community has the financial resources to purchase or build a low-powered transmitter (again refer to Appendix E for costs), cable operators are crucial because they own the essential transmission capacity. Approaches to cable operators require careful thought as some respond more readily to the possibility of increased subscribers than to fostering community development. On the other hand, some operators respond with enthusiasm to any proposal for innovative and responsible use of the community channel as urged by the CRTC. Access to the community channel is taken up again under the section in this chapter on implications for communication policy.

Media expertise is often assumed to be the second obstacle to replication or adaption of projects such as BCTV in other communities. Unquestionably, the Extension Service field worker in Buchans had the advantage of on-staff media specialists accustomed to working in development contexts. However, unlike projects which are about media, as opposed to projects that are about development, in development projects, media is subservient to the development process. This ordering of priorities needs to be emphasized to ward off the pervasive influence of broadcast television technology and the virtually unconscious patterns which are associated with it. Fundamental media skills can either be learned as part of a narrowcast project, perhaps through one of the community's continuing education facilities or in training provided by the cable television operator in compliance with CRTC policy. Moreover, some media specialists, including those involved in the community channel of cable television systems, are sensitive to development concerns and can be persuaded that the community has need of their expertise and flexibility for such purposes.

The foregoing suggestions about the transferability of the "Buchans Process" all focused on media technology and media expertise. By addressing these concerns, I do not imply that media resources are more important or more central than community development skills to the media-supported community development process used. On the contrary, I have repeatedly stressed that the learning-for-development framework is a key to narrowcasting as a development process and that the framework is found in adult education. The attention to the media component of this process is to anticipate obstacles related to the media which might otherwise

deter able and interested community developers from proceeding, if discouraged in part by the mystique often associated with media-based activities.

I am aware, however, that I have not been able to provide a neat, trouble free, already primed set of resources to development workers who may wish to adapt the "Buchans Process" for use in their community. Canada is largely without communication models of this type of community television and no ready systems of support have evolved for its growth. Nevertheless, I am suggesting that with the same imagination and creativity that development workers use in other aspects of their work, a variety of ways to proceed are possible. In any event, the project as developed in Buchans was a unique creation of people and resources at that time and addressed a particular set of circumstances. Projects elsewhere could be as novel in conception and execution as Buchans Community Television. Rather than replication of the Buchans model, what is needed is more experimentation with narrowcasting and other media for a variety of specific development agendas. Indeed, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) urges cable licensees to "take the lead in furthering cable television's potential for new programming initiatives" (CRTC Community Channel Policy, 1991, p. 4). Community developers could choose to become partners with licensees for that exploration.

Implications for staff of continuing education agencies. Buchans provides a clear and powerful example of a community in which learning needs would not have been addressed if the only forms of learning which could have been supported by the university were courses, workshops or other formal educational programs. It is

equally true that conventional community needs assessment, such as surveys and questionnaires, would have entirely bypassed the most fundamental needs of that community. Finally, the Buchans case also illustrates that communities with learning-for-development needs may not represent these needs as such, focused as they are in the social domain, and not the learning domain (Thomas, 1991). The appropriate response of the adult educator may be to hear the deep and abiding concerns of the community articulated in the language of the social domain—generally problem solving of some kind. They could then propose learning interventions in a manner which respects the community's need for action, leaving the establishment of the mutually reinforcing nature of action and learning to be discovered later.

The second major implication for outreach arms of educational agencies is that the best response of an agency working with community needs for development may not be in delivering agency-based resources, such as content provided by distance education technology or visiting specialists, but in giving support to the community to engage in organizing its own approach to the problem. At certain points in learning-for-development initiatives, extension workers with developed generic skills in facilitation and consultation will be more useful to such a process than content experts in academic disciplines traditionally associated with economic development.

The third implication for extension departments of educational agencies is that the kind of nonformal learning undertaken in Buchans is not compatible with the market driven approach to continuing education prevalent in the 1990s in Canada. Nonformal learning within grass roots organizations and communities does not easily

produce useful statistics, increased revenue or enrolled students. Neither does nonformal education of a popular nature conform to the usual image of higher education, a particular issue if the sponsoring institution is a university with a narrow definition of traditional academic functions. Staff of such institutions should be aware of the possibility that they may be judged by their institutions as having done little of educational value, especially when the spotlight of success and accomplishment falls on the community and not on the extension worker. This can happen if the payoffs of the work emerge years later, and then in non-quantifiable forms which do not illustrate direct causal links between the initial building block of learning and subsequent community economic development. In short, educational agencies have a predilection for confining their activities to the educational domain which is their métier and do not necessarily broaden their conceptual definition to include support for the nonformal learning of the social domain (Thomas, 1991).

The fourth implication for extension workers of educational agencies is that learning-for-development as illustrated in the Buchans case study is an instance of emergent design. This dissertation is a *retrospective* description and analysis of events and processes which were considerably more fluid and searching in practice than their presentation in this dissertation accurately conveys. Points made by Guba and Lincoln about fourth generation evaluation apply directly to community development work such as that undertaken in Buchans.

> Evaluation [substitute non-formal learning/community development] is an emergent process. It is impossible to design [community development] except in a general way. The process is substantially unpredictable.... Every step is contingent on the previous steps and can be unfolded only serially. One logical consequent of emergent design is that the entire set of design features, methodological decisions, and

> issue identification processes can only be specified when the [process] has been declared terminated...[community development] is a process with unpredictable outcomes...there may be multiple outcomes. (Guba and Lincoln, 1989, p. 255)

Such circumstances require supporting management structures that are appreciative of these differences; and such support may be rare in structured and bureaucratic educational institutions.

Implications for Communication Policy

This research also holds implications for communication policy in Canada. Cable television operations that provide community programming through a community channel are the means by which any community serviced by cable television could undertake local productions, including short or long-term programs in response to development concerns. Providing local people with the capacity to balance imported programs with local programs is the admirable rationale underlying the general Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) requirement that cable operators must provide a community channel.

As the CRTC has stated,

> The role of the community channel should be primarily of a public service nature, facilitating self-expression through free and open access by members of the community. Also, community programming should complement that provided by conventional broadcasters. The provision of adequate financial resources to support the community channel remains the cable operator's principal contribution to the public in exchange for the privilege of holding a cable television license (CRTC Community Channel Policy, 1991, p. 3).

While cable system licensees are required by CRTC to provide a channel for community programming, they are not required to provide access to that channel for any and all groups who wish to use it. Many licensees are willing, some even enthusiastic, about playing the role of good corporate citizen while simultaneously solidifying subscriptions to their cable business and complying with CRTC regulations. In the final analysis, however, the cable operator holds discretion over access. As Hindley, Martin, and McNulty wryly stated "Additional measures will be required in Canada to rescue citizens from their current role as supplicants, dependent for access on the goodwill and affability of the community channel manager" (1977, p. 66).

Additionally, some cable system operators have successfully petitioned CRTC for an exemption from the license requirement to activate the community channel. Almost without exception, the rationale advanced and accepted is that the financial base for their service is so precarious that it should not be burdened further with the expenses necessary to support a community channel. The argument that small and remote operators should not have to assume the same expenses for community programming as Rogers Cablesystems in Toronto with its thousands of subscribers is compelling. However, since simple and low budget community programming options for less than $4000 are also possible, expenditure requirements can be very modest. Mobile facilities are a possibility for those operators who create a viable business base by serving many small communities, and have been established by some.

Adult educators interested in activating the potential of the community channel for development purposes in a manner which draws on the lessons of Buchans should

lobby CRTC to extend the community channel requirement to all operators, irrespective of the site or size of the cable operation, to require all licensees to activate the channel, and to guard against further incursions into release from this pro-community policy. CRTC holds that an antidote to American network programs is appropriate, even just, for residents of cities, and has created provision for community channels to serve that end. Rural and small communities have the same need, although more pressing, since even less about their lives is likely to be reflected in the television they view.

The most politically astute point of intervention on behalf of a specific community is during CRTC hearings to grant or renew operator licenses for the cable system serving that community, renewal being every seven years. The hearings are open to the public, and CRTC commissioners and staff will hear representations from community groups that support or oppose licences. Since business opportunity and profitability are at stake with licences, cable operators welcome supportive representations from communities or groups within their license areas. Expressions of interest in access or evidence from communities about the need for activation of dormant community channels can be pivotal ammunition in leading CRTC to make strong recommendations to the operator in the direction of cooperation.

The previous discussion has been about a CRTC regulation on license granting or renewal. The larger issue is the potential for development-focused uses of community channels in communities right across Canada, since the technological base for experiments and new models exists in the great proportion of Canadian homes

which have one, if not two, televisions. New models of development programming could transform the community channels from being a useful but relatively conventional general community service into new life as vital components in community-wide dialogue and learning-for-development about difficult, current, and engaging development issues. As Goldberg states: "Don't be fooled by the pedestrian character of today's [community] programming. In principle, this medium's mandate for direct citizen access defies the current structures of power in the most radical way possible" (Goldberg, 1990, p. 6).

The models for development television should not come from broadcast, since every part of the set of practices that serves broadcast purposes are diametrically opposed to development. The new models should be born of and grow from the communication needs of a group of people engaged in participatory development, with emphasis on interaction, participation, and peer dialogue. The still untapped and largely unrealized potential of cable television for local development is sufficient cause for development-oriented adult educators to become familiar with and monitor current policy and regulations of the community service component of the cable television industry.

Options for intervention on community access are not confined to license renewals. Quite frequently, the CRTC holds public hearings about broadcast matters under its jurisdiction, including the community channel of cable systems. The House of Commons Standing Committee on Communication and Culture is another body which frequently solicits public opinion through public consultations and the like. In

1986, the Caplan-Sauvageau Task Force was the latest of a series of federal government initiatives to review broadcast policy, including community channel considerations of cable television. Its general mandate followed the Aird Commission of 1928, the Massey Commission of 1949, the Fowler Commission of 1955, the Fowler Committee of 1965, the White Paper on Broadcasting of 1966, and the Applebaum-Hebert Cultural Policy Review, to mention only a few (Peers, 1966; Raboy, 1990). The cable industry has become so complex that inevitably the 1990s will see other government-sponsored public consultations about it and other broadcast matters. Again, this will be an opportunity for community groups with a development agenda to influence policy in a direction congruent with their concerns. Finally, the agenda of the advocacy organization, Friends of Canadian Broadcasting, is broad enough to include attention to community television.

In Canada, the interest in community access to media for facilitation of learning is certainly as old as the development of the technology for same. The literature review of Chapter II showed Citizens Forum and Farm Radio Forum as examples of the intersection of adult education and public broadcast (Faris, 1975). Nor is the idea of access to the community channel of cable television original to this dissertation. Lawson (1972), Zolf (1973), Rosen and Herman (1974), and Hannigan (1979) are simply four examples of previous scholarly work and practice in this regard. The CRTC itself has undertaken publications to encourage community television (CRTC, 1974; Tourigny, 1983). The usage advocated in this dissertation is more focused and specific but joins a long history of activism in this area, somewhat diminished over the last decade. The precedents and the principles are still available,

however. Community developers in Canada could turn that history to their advantage by choosing to be advocates of a new use of the proliferating communication technology which has made Canada the most heavily cabled nation in the world. Community developers involved in maintaining rural constituencies in the face of increasing tendencies to metropolization and centralization could take up that historical agenda in ways that recognize the technologies, and the social and economic forces of the 1990s.

Implications for Research

The implications for further research are numerous. The Buchans case study was a holistic account of complex community dynamics that identified various dimensions which appeared to have significance there. The most obvious question is how these factors would be operational in adaptations of the process in other communities or in Buchans at other stages in its development history. How important are the following to narrowcast-assisted community development:

- the degree of crisis being experienced by the community;
- the extent to which the community is already active on its own behalf;
- the size of the community;
- the clarity of physical boundaries for the community;
- the familiarity of community members with each other;
- involvement of all adult residents;
- the diminished sense of pride in traditional competencies of the community;
- rural communities' virtual exclusion from traditional mass media (the global village);
- the novelty of the process;

- the nature of the information needs;

The dissertation suggests hypotheses for each of these questions, all of which are open to further investigation.

Three questions stand out as implications for broader research. The first is about the nature and form of meaningful participation and the relationship between participating in one community activity, like narrowcasting, and participation in activities more directly linked to community economic development.

The second question is about the function of community identity in development issues. Is a necessary degree of community cohesion a prerequisite to some forms of community development? As community developers, do we have ways of knowing indicators of identity in healthy communities? Is a community's identity more surely grasped when mediated through some form of reflective vehicle? How are voice and identity related?

Allied to questions of community identity are ones about the conscientization which can happen when community members have "spoken the word, and named their world" (Freire, 1970). Popular educators around the world have used various forms of popular and indigenous culture, particularly popular theatre, as springboards for promoting reflection and insight into social, political, and economic issues at both a community and global level, first for those active in the creation of those vehicles and second, for those who experience them. A common thread throughout all popular education is repudiation of a monopoly on knowledge by an elite. The extent of the

parallels between Freire's literacy methodology of using codifications and the creation of media images of self and self-in-community becomes a specific area for further scholarly inquiry raised by this dissertation.

Limitations and Constraints

Several points arise in considering the limitations and constraints of this research.

As acknowledged in the methodological chapter (Chapter III), the methodology chosen—illuminative case study—while the most appropriate to the research question, nevertheless has some obvious constraints. The first is that generalizations from the specifics of this case to other specific situations are tentative, even academically hazardous. However, undertaking a case study is of little use if it does not allow for some transfer of learning from the particular case to other educational practices. On the other hand, no confusion should exist about the appropriateness of definitively extrapolating from one complex, holistic practice site to other populations without careful analysis of similarities and parallels. Because the latter was not undertaken in the course of this study, the author is confined to general observations which are open to further research. Yin states that case studies, like experiments, are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes (Yin, 1989, p. 21). The greater onus for direct one-to-one comparisons is left to the reader, who having a second specific setting in mind, can make independent judgements about essential similarities or lack thereof. As Stake wrote: "Case studies will often be the preferred method of research because they may be epistemologically in harmony with

the reader's experience and thus to that person a natural basis for generalization" (Stake, 1988, p. 279).

A second concern takes into account that the chosen case was a particularly successful example of media-assisted community development, and one which community people took a great deal of pride and satisfaction in recounting. As a result, although I scrupulously asked about negative features, regrets, and areas for improvement, the data yielded little in that vein. Respondents may have felt that focusing on these were incompatible with their recall of a period of great cohesion and purpose. As a result, the data and my analysis reflects the high positive regard which community people accord to Buchans Community Television. I would defend the choice of a site and a case study which had positive outcomes in two ways. First, my interest was in successful practice on the assumption that initial documentation of successful innovative work yields more than does documentation of failures. Second, although I was aware that Buchans residents had been enthusiastic immediately following the transmitter project in 1985, when I began my research in 1989, I was unsure of how and whether time and other developments may have eroded or coloured that initial response.

A third limitation may be that important details were obscured by the passage of time between the project and my data collection. For example, despite my access to all documentation about the project, it was still difficult to establish with total precision how much time certain staff members of Extension had spent in Buchans.

I am satisfied that little of vital importance has been overlooked but I am aware that vagueness exists at some points.

The timing of my collection of data, after the narrowcast process instead of during it, had another impact on the tone which can be discerned in the commentary from Buchans residents. Their comments are imbued with the satisfaction that comes from having taken risks which were successful. The community television event in Buchans was carried out with much greater tentativeness than is foremost in memories of residents and staff from a vantage point five years later. In 1985, the entire process was experimental, and not without the possibility of serious negative consequences. For example, Leslie Baker (Extension worker) thought it possible that the community could look at itself and its future, be overcome with the odds against self-reliance, and simply become increasingly more fragmented and inactive. Families could have slipped away from Buchans, depressed and permanently chastened about thinking they could have made a difference. The BCTV Planning and Coordinating Committee had to consider that its novice attempts with community television could be the death knell of their hopes for the community. Extension had anxious moments contemplating the possibility that it could rapidly develop a reputation for hastening the demise of troubled communities. The experimental nature of the entire undertaking is largely underplayed in the 1990 interviews. Still, some people recall the uncertainty and apprehension. While the following comment is specifically about attracting an audience and the telephone feedback provision, Rex's comment does indicate the general concerns which many of those involved held about the possibility for disappointment and failure:

> I wasn't sure what kind of viewer response we were going to get or how many people would actually tune in.... I was concerned that people in Buchans are different. They're not going to turn on their televisions for this. They're not going to phone into bloody talk shows—they're too shy. They're not those kind of people. I was wrong fortunately, because it was very much a town event. (Rex)

The congratulatory tone which emerged in other remarks is the one positioned on the other side of the metaphorical abyss. It is the prevalent tenor of the interviews. However that tone does some disservice to an accurate accounting of both the desperation that lay behind the effort and the courage that was necessary for both the community and the Extension Service to gamble on an untried marriage of narrowcast technology and process to the most fundamental of a community's dreams.

Conclusion

This dissertation has deep roots in practice. The research question it addresses is essentially one formulation of the larger question that endlessly intrigues all community developers in the field—why something worked or why it did not; why development happens in some communities or why it does not happen in others. The specific question arose from the particular practice of a group of people in the Extension Service of Memorial University with thirty years of experience in supporting learning-for-development in small and rural communities in Newfoundland.

The methodology is as close to practice as research can be; that is naturalistic as befits a holistic case study of the messy, tangled, complex events in a specific

community still pursuing its development goals. The data gathering was founded in naturalistic conventions of community development—field work with people who lived the experience. Data gathering was in conversations and observation. Only the consent forms and feeding the tape-recorder with blank tapes jarred the long, wandering, authentic dialogue between respondents and myself. The data live, even dance, with the emotion, casualness, humour, and frankness of Mildred, Wayne, Bruce, Janet, and the others. The data analysis is retrospectively identified as progressive focusing and constant comparison. Some would just call that mulling things over. The reporting is done largely in lay language.

The research findings will be returned to practice as other readers and I reinvest the learnings from this document in the sites of our respective practice. For example, a community in the Northwest Territories awaits this document; the people want to read the story of community development in Buchans.

Of course, no community developer worth his or her salt, who in debates in darkened cars driving slow roads at nights between rural communities, confines him or herself only to practice. To have asked the question "why" and "why there" and "how" and to attempt to formulate answers, however undisciplined and interrupted by unexpected potholes, black ice, and stray and startled moose is to have engaged in activity of the scholarly kind at least at a rudimentary level. To have wanted to learn inductively from observations made in community *x*, some lesson for community *y* is the same impulse which enlarged, taken under the roof of a graduate school and according to a process called research, becomes a dissertation.

I was able to use strategies for research similar to the practices of community development. Far from these choices being marginally accepted or barely tolerated, the academy encouraged me in my natural inclinations by guiding me to the language, the theorists, the academic conventions, and practice which were consistent with those inclinations. Accordingly, I have been able to add reflection to action and create a praxis which began with the implicit theory of experienced practitioners and moved in the direction of espoused theory.

Many writers have addressed the reciprocal nature of theory and practice (Lewin, 1951; Freire, 1970a; Argyris and Schön, 1974; Hunt, 1987). "There is nothing as practical as a good theory" (Lewin, p. 47). "Unless theories come from practice, they will not apply to practice" (Hunt, p. 109). Much of practice is intuitive but not without theory, although "we make explicit theory tacit—that is we internalize it" (Argyris and Schön, p. 10).

Freire's statement about praxis among peasants undergoing conscientization also applies to the writer and readers of this document. Freire believes that naming the world need not be confined to the elite. "Once named, the world in turn reappears to the namers as a problem and requires of them a new meaning" (Freire, 1970a, p. 76). I have attempted to name an example of media-assisted community development. Now it "reappears" to me, with new problems/implications identified in the preceding pages. By naming small media in community development through the process of this dissertation, my naming is now available to a new group of readers and namers, from which to make new meaning.

ENDNOTES

1. There were administrative changes at Memorial University which affected the Extension Service within the period which was selected (bounded) by my research. When the work in Buchans began, Extension Service had field workers, program developers and media specialists on staff. Extension also had its own film and video facility (Media Unit). Before the narrowcasting project in Buchans finished, Extension's Media Unit merged with another unit to become the Division of Educational Technology, School of General Studies, Continuing Studies, and Extension, Memorial University of Newfoundland. Field oriented media specialists were still available for Extension sponsored media-assisted community development. For the sake of simplicity, I consistently refer to all media specialists who worked on the project as Extension staff, even if by the end of the project such individuals were assigned to the new Educational Technology Division.

2. The demographic indicators used in this section were from Statistics Canada 1986 Census documents, somewhat amended by local information to account for the year between the narrowcast project (May, 1985) and the June 1986 date of the census.

3. Information for the section entitled Extension's entry to Buchans is derived from an interview (Summer 1990) with Dennis Rumbolt [pseudonym], formerly an Extension Service field coordinator for the Central Newfoundland Region, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

4. Interview (Summer 1990) with Charlie Callanan, Manager, Field Services, Division of Educational Technology, Memorial University of Newfoundland, formerly Head of Extension Service's Media Unit.

5. This account (Summer 1990) of BCTV in the eyes of the community comes from Don Murphy, Instructor, Community Television, Western Community College, Stephenville, Newfoundland, formerly a media specialist with MUN Extension Service.

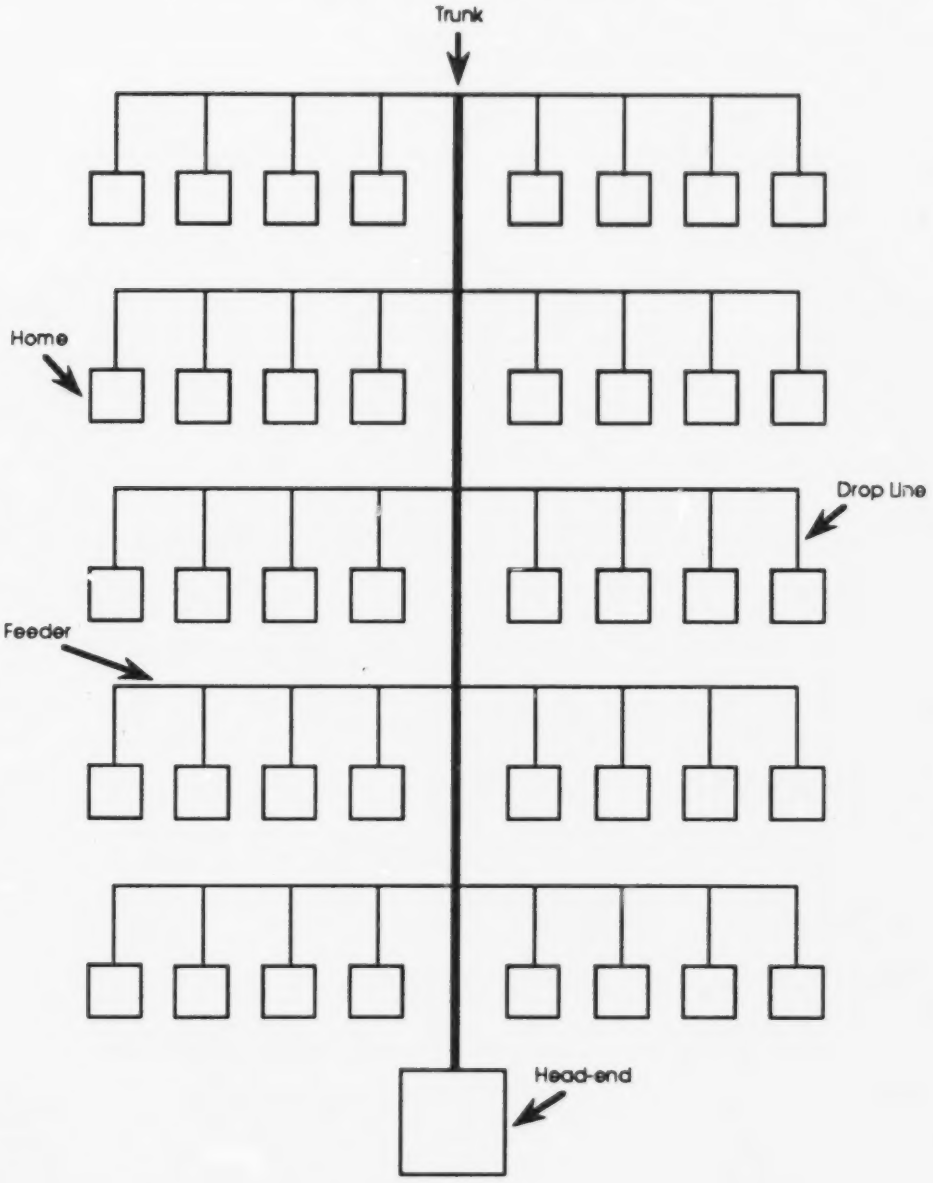
6. The dream drives the action is the title of a manuscript in progress by Thomas Berry and Edmond Sullivan, bringing education into the ecological age.

7. Interview (February 1992) with Eric Thomas, Cable Policy Analyst, Cable Policy and Specialty Services Branch, Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission.

8. Interview (December 1991) with Gerald Lavallée, Vice-President, Regulatory Affairs, Canadian Cable Television Association.

APPENDIX A

Diagram of Typical Cable Television System



Source: Hindley, M. Patricia, Martin, G.M. and McNulty, Jean. (1977). The tangled net: Basic issues in Canadian communications. Vancouver: J.J. Douglas.

APPENDIX B

Interview Schedules for both Buchans Residents and Extention Staff

Questions for interviews with Buchans's residents

What was the situation facing Buchans at the time the community became involved in the narrowcasting project? What was the impact of that on you and your family?

What was your involvement with the events that led up to the community narrowcasting that was undertaken here between the community and the Extension Service?

What was the very first occasion on which you recall hearing of the idea?

What was your understanding of what would happen then?

What did happen?

What was your judgement about how the process as you understood it would be useful to the situation facing Buchans at that time?

Did the narrowcasting address that in any way? In which ways?

Does Buchans get much coverage on the TV you get here?

From where does the television you usually watch originate? What is the closest point from where it usually originates to Buchans? What do you usually watch on television? Do you know any of the people or events that you see on television?

How did it feel to you to see the business and affairs of Buchans on television?

Was it any different than what you normally feel after watching television? How?

Who do you think the narrowcasting was intended to reach? What was it trying to do? Did it succeed?

Was anything different in Buchans after the narrowcasting than before? How about immediately after? 6 months after? 12 months after? up until now?

Could any of those things have been accomplished some other way, maybe without so much time and energy?

I understand that a lot went on in the community to get ready for the actual narrowcasting. Was any of that important to the eventual outcomes? Can you describe any incidents which seem particularly significant to you?

Did the community narrowcasting make any difference to the problems that were facing Buchans? Did it make any difference to you or your family personally?

Is there anything, big or small, that you did after the television project that you wouldn't have done before? Why did the Buchans television project make a difference to that?

Did BCTV have some negative influences? Could you say a little more?

Have the problems of Buchans been affected by the community narrowcasting project? People are still leaving and unemployment is still very high.

Are you involved in any way in community affairs? Is this the same kind of involvement that you had throughout your time in Buchans? Is there anything that you do that is different because of the television project?

Do you feel any differently about Buchans, its future and how it will solve the unemployment problem since the community narrowcast? Do you feel any differently about your own involvement in the search for those solutions?

Extension workers were outsiders who had some experience using narrowcasting in other communities. Did they control what happened with the transmitter in Buchans?

At the time of the narrowcast, people were very enthusiastic about the project. Why was that so? Has that enthusiasm evaporated? Did it get converted into anything of value to Buchans?

Buchans still faces serious problems with unemployment. Why hasn't there been another community narrowcasting project since?

What did you find out about Buchans through the television project that you hadn't known before?

Did you have a different impression of Buchans after the television event? What was it?

<u>Interview questions for Extension workers about their work in media-assisted community development</u>.

How long have you been working with media and development?

What forms of media have you used in your work with the Extension Service?

How would you describe your work for the Extension Service?

What is its ultimate purpose?

How do you link that to the activities of an educational institution?

What are some basic principles of practice that you have evolved over the years from your work? I am interested in principles at the level of your personal beliefs as well as principles related to your working strategies for effectiveness in your role.

Where does the use of media in general fit in the overall picture of your work?

What do you think is the relationship of media to your development work?

What's your experience with community narrowcasting?

Help me identify some key phrases to describe community narrowcasting.

In your judgement, how does community narrowcasting differ from other media you have used?

What is community narrowcasting best used for?

What is the response of the community to about community narrowcasting?

Do you have any particular interest in community narrowcasting yourself? Why or why not?

Tell me an example of when you saw community narrowcasting used most effectively and why you judged it to be effective in that case. Do you judge its "success" in short-term or long term impact? Do you view success in terms of a concrete benefit to the community? Why or why not?

Tell me more about that example.

What are you own personal measures for when you have been successful in how you have used community narrowcasting in your work?

What is it about the nature of that medium that makes it useful for particular development tasks?

What is it about the way you use the medium that makes it useful to particular development tasks?

Are there any special characteristics of the groups you work with and the circumstances under which you work that should be kept in mind by anyone trying to generalize about the utility of this approach in other localities outside Newfoundland?

Questions for interviews with the two development workers involved in the application of narrowcasting in Buchans

How did you first become involved in the development issue which led to the eventual decision to undertake a narrowcasting effort in Buchans?

What was your judgement/assessment of what was happening in Buchans that needed an intervention from you?

Do you recall how the decision to use narrowcasting was taken?

Had you been involved in other applications of community narrowcasting?

How were you expecting this particular project to be different from the others?

How were you expecting it to be the same?

In your wildest dreams, what were your hopes and expectations?

In your wildest nightmares, what could have happened in Buchans as a result of using that kind of development intervention?

Did you know what you were getting yourself into?

How much time in weeks did you spend on the narrowcasting project in Buchans?

I am particularly interested in the process which led up to the narrowcasting after you decided to try it which I did not observe or know anything about myself. Would you tell me something of the process that was involved in that? Would you describe a couple of key incidents? Could we try to develop a model of the stages in the planning process just to see if that's possible?

How did you see who was the "community" you were working with in Buchans? the entire community? some sectors of the community? Was there any conflict which has to resolved because of the interests of different sectors?

Were there significant sectors of Buchans who were not involved in the process which led to the actual narrowcast?

What has been the nature of your involvement with Buchans since?

If there anything that you believe happened in Buchans as a result of the transmitter project that could not have happened any other way?

What do you believe happened? (Notice I used the word believe, because I am not asking you to give me any evidence for your belief.)

Now that I have tricked you into answering the previous question, if you had to drum up some evidence or justification for your belief, what would it be? Would anyone else be able to see this evidence too?

What was it about the community television medium itself that was important to the task at hand in Buchans?

What needed to be done that television could do?

APPENDIX C

Letters to Respondents

Suite 22E
20 Prince Arthur Avenue
Toronto, M5R 1B1

June 28, 1990

Mr. Rex Purchase
P.O. Box 42
Buchans, Nfld.

Dear Mr. Purchase,

Although we have met before in Buchans, you may not be aware that I am currently registered in a doctoral program at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) at the University of Toronto. When I finish this degree, I am looking forward to returning to my former job as director of the Extension Service at Memorial University.

As part of my degree, I am required to undertake a research study in the broad area of community development and adult learning. I have chosen to do a case study of the work that was done between the community of Buchans and the Extension Service a few years back which led to the community narrowcasting project that was carried out there. I remember that event as one of great excitement and enthusiasm and I want to understand it better. I am particularly interested in how media was relevant, if indeed at all, to the process that was undertaken there. Other people in my line of work are also interested in understanding that project better to gauge whether it can be useful to them with communities facing problems of the magnitude Buchans faced.

If you would be agreeable, I would like to interview you about your thoughts and opinions on the television project, what led up to it, and what happened after it. The interview would be about two hours long and with your permission, I would like to tape record it, for transcription later so that I can really study your thoughts and those of other people I will interview. I will look at all the interviews together in order to see if some commonalities or themes emerge and try to tie these to my own thoughts about the event. This study will eventually become part of the documentation that I must submit to the University of Toronto in order to complete my degree. A copy of the study will eventually be placed in the University of Toronto library. I also hope to write some articles about my findings for publication in journals that other people interested in the topic will read.

Usually, it is the custom for students undertaking such writing to disguise both the name of the community and the names and identities of the people interviewed. This includes not identifying them in ways that allow even other people who know them

to figure out who is being quoted in any particular instance. Because that is next to impossible with the small group of 15 that I hope to interview in Buchans, I will be careful to protect your identity on any sensitive matters that arise or to ask your permission explicitly to quote you on anything that might cause you concern if you were known to be the speaker. I will, as a matter of routine, use pseudonyms in the final written report. It is also routine for the student to take responsibility for ensuring the confidentiality of all material collected for these kind of studies and while you may not believe that to be necessary, I will do that, unless you and I come to a specific agreement to the contrary at a later date.

There will be no right or wrong answers in the questions I hope we can discuss as I am only trying to understand community narrowcasting through the eyes of the community residents and our conversation will be quite informal. However, you are perfectly free to withdraw from the study at any time, even after you have done the interview, and I will destroy any records I have of our talk.

I would provide you with a written summary of my study when it is completed. You would also be welcome to read the longer version that will go to the University of Toronto library.

If you agree to meeting with me for these purposes, I will let you know when I plan to be in Buchans and schedule a time and place that is convenient to you for our conversation. I will contact you in a few days to know if you can participate. If you agree to do so, my university requires me to ask you to sign the enclosed form. I will pick it up from you when we meet.

I hope you will agree to be part of my study as I think there is much to learn from the experiences of people in Buchans. If you have any questions about what I am doing, you can direct them to me, or if you wish, to my supervising professor, Dr. L. Davie, Department of Adult Education, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 252 Bloor Street West, Toronto, M5S 1V6.

I am looking forward to being in Buchans over the summer.

Sincerely,

Elayne Harris

Suite 22E
20 Prince Arthur Avenue
Toronto, M5R 1B1

June 23, 1990

Ms. Janice Ryan
Field Co-ordinator
Extension Service
Memorial University of Nfld.
30 Military Road
Glovertown, Nfld.

Dear Janice,

The time is here for me to move to the next stage in my doctoral studies, the research leading to the final dissertation product. I have had a wonderful two years, reading, thinking, reflecting, puzzling, arguing, and will now begin the data collection for the research project which has been approved by my supervisory committee. I haven't moved far from the original idea which I left Newfoundland intending to study, but I now have clarity about both the research question and the methodology.

Specifically, the purpose of this research is to determine how a particular learning strategy focusing on problems and/or crisis of a community-wide nature (and employing community narrowcasting as part of the process) affects community's response to those problems or crisis. It's obvious that I will be concentrating on the work of the Service in media-assisted community development. I plan to proceed with a case study on the work that we have done in Buchans. I don't know if the case study methodology needs to be clarified for you but while description is a major component of the process, analysis within a particular framework is the second aspect, and I have a rudimentary framework for that analysis that I am eager to discuss with people like yourself.

I will start by interviewing a limited number of staff who have had experience in using media in community development, of which you are obviously one. The interview will be fairly free ranging and concentrate not on Buchans at all but the totality of your work with this form of community development. The interview will take about two hours and be held at a time and location which suits you and your work and holiday schedule over the summer.

I wouldn't expect the interview experience to be too rigorous although I will be working with a semi-structured interview schedule, which can be added to by what ever sparks occur in the midst of our discussions. It may be a bit awkward for me not to just have a conversation but perhaps you will be generous with me as I take on the researcher role for this occasion. This interview will be transcribed so that I can go over it in some detail away from the interaction of the interview itself. If you like, I can give you either a copy of the tape or the transcription and you can add or clarify anything you have said. I can't promise that you will benefit from my research

project, but I hope it will be at least pleasant to talk about the content of our work. At the very least, you would be doing me the considerably courtesy of assisting in a project that means a great deal to me.

There is a another matter which might as well be faced—that being that I am the past director of the department and plan to be the future director as well. Therefore agreement to make yourself available to me may not feel like an entirely free choice, and I am perfectly aware that making yourself available is not synonymous with open, unguarded, and full engagement with the process. However, while this is a possibility, I think if we are both alerted to its dynamics we should be able to proceed with no serious negative effect on the task.

As for myself, I will be acting as much a possible in the role of graduate student and researcher and will put my role as director on the shelf for another year as I have been reasonably successful in doing up to now. For your protection, I will take what measures I can to ensure anonymity and confidentially, although I am aware, as you will be, that research involving the small sample of people at Extension that have worked in media-assisted community development is specialized enough that individuals can easily be identified. However, I will not attribute any statement or quote to you in a way that can be clearly linked to you without your permission, although obviously your colleagues won't have too difficult a time recognizing either your point of view or maybe even your phasing. The tapes, transcript, and data analysis will not become part of the property of the Division. However, I would like to keep them as part of my personal files for a period after the dissertation process is completed to review them for overlooked insights. If you are interested, I can provide you with a transcribed version of the interview and of course either a summary or the entirely of the final dissertation.

I don't expect for obvious reasons to write a dissertation that either lambasts or condemns the activities of individual staff members, the overall work of the department or the resourcefulness of any particular community. That is not to say that there will be no critique of our overall work and how it might be improved but my past experience with Extension is that it is a learning organization that accepts and appreciates fairly constituted critique, if indeed critique is one of the results. Equally obvious I can't write a dissertation that is a promotional piece of the wonders of community development and adult learning à la Extension style. This is not an evaluation study and in this context I have no interest in evaluating the work of people like yourself, for whom I hold a great deal of respect.

Finally, you are free to withdraw from participation in the study at any time without obligation to advise me about your reasons unless there are issues that you have reason to believe can be worked out by discussion or the implementation of different procedures. In fact I will ask you to sign the enclosed letter indicating your understanding of that option.

It may interest you to know that I will be doing two sets of interviews; one with people like yourself on a general level about Extension's work in media-assisted community development from your particular point of view; and a similar set with

some folks from Educational Technology who obviously have a particular perspective to offer too. I will be curious to see if these perspectives differ in any substantial way. Secondly I hope to do more detailed interviews with the smaller number of staff who worked directly on the Buchans project, with a more targeted set of questions. Finally I will be interviewing a number of present and former residents from Buchans about the event as they experienced it and have thought of it since, and whether it is possible for them to speculate on the role of community narrowcasting in their continuing saga of economic survival.

I am obviously hoping you will assist me with this, quite simply because my own analysis will be so much more enriched by yours. Please let me know your general reaction, ideally within the week. Perhaps to save time you could do this by phone and if we can proceed, agree to schedule a tentative time when and where the interview can take place, although I am presently assuming that Glovertown will suit you best. I will be in Toronto at 416-323-9429 until June 29, 1990 and after that messages can be left at 737-8470 until I have my own arrangements for St. John's.

I will be very grateful for your cooperation and contribution.

Sincerely,

Elayne Harris

APPENDIX D

Consent Agreement Signed by Respondents

I have read the letter from Elayne Harris about the case study she is undertaking for her doctoral studies and agree to participate as she asks. I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time and all records made of our conversations up to that time will be destroyed.

_____ Signature

_____ Date

APPENDIX E

Letter Regarding Use of the Community's Name

Suite 22E
20 Prince Arthur Avenue
Toronto, M5R 1B1

July 27, 1991

Mr. Rex Purchase
P.O. Box 42
Buchans, Nfld.

Dear Mr. Purchase:

It's been almost a year since I was in Buchans conducting interviews for my doctoral research and I am glad to report that I am making progress. At this point, I have about half of the first draft of my dissertation written and if nothing else slows me up, I will probably finish by Christmas and graduate in the June convocation next year. To get to this point, I spent most of the winter reflecting on the interviews that I did while in Buchans last year. Sometimes, I found it quite strange to be living on the 22nd floor of a high rise apartment building in Toronto re-living the conversation I had with you last summer. However, I am learning a great deal from combining what you said with what others in Buchans also said.

I want to ask your permission to deviate from something I mentioned when we talked last year. Then, I said, I would follow academic custom and disguise the name of the community when I wrote my final report. To do that, I would have re-named Buchans as Centertown or some other made-up name. However, the more I thought about it over the year, the less comfortable I was with doing that.

Since then I have discussed it with my supervising committee and argued that I want to recognize the efforts that Buchans people had and were making to keep their town alive and I could hardly do that if I didn't even give the community its real name. They have agreed that I have a good case. But now I am bound by having told you that was my intention. So would you give me permission to back track on what I originally said and simply call Buchans by its right name?

If I don't hear from you, I will assume that you feel okay about letting me use the real name of Buchans. If however, you have some concern about that, please write me a note at the above address telling me that you want me to stick to what I told you at the time we talked. You will not have to explain your reasons—just tell me that you don't want me to write about Buchans by its real name.

I will follow through on my plan of disguising your real name if I quote you in my final report. I am not aware that anything you told me was confidential but it does

seem safer. As we said then, people who are your friends and neighbours may be able to recognize you anyway, just from the way you talk but using pseudonyms does give some measure of privacy. You may think that's not really necessary either but maybe I'll only break one academic custom at a time. If you are interested in what I will finally write, I will place a copy of my dissertation in the Buchans Public Library, when it is accepted by the University of Toronto.

As I said in my letter to you after we met last summer, you have helped my research a great deal and I am very grateful that you gave me your time and attention. Please be in touch with me by the end of August if you do not want me to use the name of Buchans in my final report.

Sincerely,

Elayne Harris

APPENDIX F

Equipment for Transmitter Projects

Equipment for transmitter projects which in degrees of complexity can be categorized from "simple to middle of the road".

Needed for the pre transmission phase:	
A camcorder with a power unit	$ 1600.
A tripod for the camera	200.
Extra batteries for the camcorder (3 at $80.00)	240.
A light kit (3 lights)	1000.
A hand held microphone with cord to camcorder	100.
Two lapel style microphones (hooks to your lapel) with extension mike cables	250.
Videotapes (20 at $7.00)	140.
Extension cord caddies (AC power)	25.
TOTAL	$ 3555.
VHS editing system	$ 8000.
Needed if doing own transmission (i.e. independent of cable operator):	
A low power (10 watt) television transmitter	$ 12,000.
A roof antenna with interconnecting cables	300.
Two video cameras wired to a switcher plus switcher	2500.
Three monitors ($400 each)	1200.
Table microphones with table mike stands (6 at $100)	600.
Intercom system between camera people and switcher/operator	300.
Speakerphone for telephone call-ins	40.
Miscellaneous items	150.
TOTAL	$ 14,090.

Source: J.C. Callanan, Division of Educational Television, School of General Studies, Memorial University, November, 1991.

APPENDIX G

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ASARCO	American Smelting and Refining Company
BCTV	Buchans Community Television
BDC	Buchans Development Corporation
CAAE	Canadian Association for Adult Education
CB's	Citizen Band radios
CEIC	Canada Employment and Immigration Commission
CRTC	Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission
IAS	Industry Adjustment Service
LEAD	Local Economy Assistance Development
MILAP	Modified Industrial Labour Adjustment Program
MUN	Memorial University of Newfoundland
NFB	National Film Board
UI	Unemployment Insurance

REFERENCES

Adams, Frank. (1975). Unearthing seeds of fire: The idea of Highlander. Winston-Salem, NC: Blair.

Apple, Michael. (1982). Reproduction and contradiction in education. In Michael Apple (Ed.), Cultural and economic reproduction in education: essays in class ideology and the state (pp. 1-31). Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Argyris, Chris, & Schön, Donald. (1974). Theory in practice: Increasing professional effectiveness. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Armstrong, David. (1981). A triumph to arms: Alternative media in America. Boston, MA: South End Press.

Arnold, Rick, Burke, Bev, James, Carl, Martin, D'Arcy, & Thomas, Barb. (1991). Educating for a change. Toronto: Between The Lines.

Arnstein, Sherry R. (1969). A ladder of citizen participation. American Institute of Planners, 35, 216-224.

Barbier-Bouvet, Jean-Francois, Beaud, Paul, & Flichy, Patrice. (1979). Communication et pouvoir—mass media et media communautaire au Québec. Paris: Editions Anthropus.

Beder, Hal. (1989). Purposes and philosophies of adult education. In Sharan Merriam and Phyllis M. Cunningham (Eds.), Handbook of adult and continuing education (pp. 37-50). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Belbase, Subhadra. (1987). Development communication: A Nepali experience. In Neville Jayaweera & Sarath Amunugama (Eds.), Rethinking development communication (pp. 208-226). Singapore: The Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre.

Berrigan, Frances J. (1979). Community communications: The role of community media in development. Paris: UNESCO Press.

Berry, Thomas. (1988). Dream of the earth. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books.

Bogdan, Robert, & Biklin, Sari Knopp. (1982). Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Bowles, Samuel, & Gintis, Herbert. (1977). Schooling in capitalist America. New York: Harper and Row.

Brookfield, Stephen. (1984). Adult learners, adult education and the community. New York and London: Teachers College Press.

Brookfield, Stephen. (1983). Community adult education: A conceptual analysis. Adult Education Quarterly, 33, 154-160.

Cadena, F. (1984). Popular education and peasant movements for change. Convergence. 27(3), 31-36.

Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission. (1991). Community channel policy. Public Notice 1999-59. Ottawa: Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission.

Canadian Radio-Television Commission. (1974). A resource for the active community. Ottawa: Information Canada. Cat. No. BC92-6.

Carey, James. (1975). Communications and culture. Communication Research. 2(2), 173-191.

Carpenter, Edmund. (1972). Oh what a blow that phantom gave me. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Cayley, David. (1983, May). The politics of information/CBC Ideas. Montreal: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Transcripts.

Chomsky, Noam, & Herman, Edward S. (1988). Manufacturing consent: The political economy of the mass media. New York: Pantheon Books.

Coady, Moses. (1939). Masters of their own destiny: The story of the Antigonish movement. New York: Harper.

Collard, Susan, & Law, Michael. (1989). The limits of perspective transformation; a critique of Mezirow's theory. Adult Education Quarterly, 39, 99-109.

Conchelos, Gregory. (1983). Framework for analysis of participatory research. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, Toronto.

Cox, Kevin. (1991, January 4). Radar industry for Newfoundland. Globe and Mail, p. B6.

Cross, K. Patricia. (1981). Adults as learners. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Crowley, David J. (1982). Understanding communication: the signifying web. New York, London, and Paris: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers.

Czitrom, Daniel J. (1982). Media and the American mind. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Deshler, David, & Hagan, Nancy. (1989). Adult education research: Issues and directions. In Sharan H. Merriam & Phyllis M. Cunningham (Eds.), Handbook of adult and continuing education (pp. 147-167). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Dewey, John. (1927). The public and its problems. Chicago: Swallow Press.

Deza, Alfonso B. (1989, February). Media production and the process of becoming in the context of community building. Participation: A key concept in communication for change and development. Seminar conducted at the University of Poona, Pune, India.

Dorfman, Ariel. (1983). The empire's old clothes: What the Lone Ranger, Babar, and other innocent heros to do our minds. New York: Pantheon.

Downing, John. (1984). Radical media: The political experience of alternative communication. Boston, MA: South End press.

Dyer, Gillian. (1982). Advertising as communication. London and New York: Methuen.

Dyer, Howard J. (1974). Report number two of the industrial inquiry commission between the United Steelworkers of America, Local Union 5457 and the American Smelting and Refining Company, Buchans Unit. St. John's: Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Elias, John L., & Merriam, Sharan. (1980). Philosophical foundations of adult education. Huntington, NY: Keiger Publishing.

Enzensberger, Hans Magnus. (1974). The consciousness industry: On literature, politics and the media. New York: Seabury Press.

Epstein, Edward J. (1973). News from nowhere: Television and the news. New York: Random House.

Ewen, Steward. (1976). Captains of consciousness: Advertising and the social roots of consumer culture. New York and Toronto: McGraw-Hill.

Fals-Borda, Orlando. (1989). Evolution and convergences in participatory action-research. Unpublished manuscript, National University of Columbia, Bogota.

Faris, Ron. (1975). The passionate educators: Voluntary associations and the struggle for control of adult education broadcasting in Canada 1919-52. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates.

Frank, Andrew. (1969). Capitalism and underdevelopment in Latin America. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Freire, Paulo. (1970a). Pedagogy of the oppressed. New York: Continuum.

Freire, Paulo. (1970b). Cultural action for freedom. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Educational Review. Monograph Series No. 1.

Freire, Paulo. (1973). Education for critical consciousness. New York: Seabury Press.

Freire, Paulo. (1982). Creating alternative research methods: Learning to do by doing it. In Budd Hall, Arthur Gillette, & Rajesh Tandon (Eds.), Creating knowledge: A monopoly? (pp. 29-40). Toronto: International Council for Adult Education.

Freire, Paulo. (1985). The politics of education: Culture, power and liberation. New York, Westport, CT, London: Bergin and Garvey.

Gans, Herbert J. (1980). Deciding what's news. New York: Vintage Books.

Gaventa, John. (1980). Power and powerlessness: Quiescence and rebellion in an Appalachian valley. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Giroux, Henry A. (1988). Schooling and the struggle for public life. Minneapolis, MS: University of Minnesota.

Gitlin, Todd. (1980). The whole world is watching. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Gitlin, Todd. (1983). Inside prime time. New York: Pantheon Books.

Gitlin, Todd. (Ed.). (1986). Watching television. New York: Pantheon Books.

Glaser, Barney G., & Strauss, Anselm L. (1967). The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research. Chicago: Aldine Publishing.

Goldberg, Kim. (1990). The barefoot channel: Community television as a tool for social change. Vancouver: New Star Books.

Greenberg, Edward T. (1986). Workplace democracy: The political effects of participation. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Guba, Egon G., & Lincoln, Yvonna S. (1981). Effective evaluation. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Guba, Egon G., & Lincoln, Yvonna S. (1989). Fourth generation evaluation. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Gwyn, Sandra. (1972). Cinema as catalyst. (Summary). Report of seminar on Film, Videotape and Social Change. St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Habermas, Jergen. (1972). Knowledge and human interests. (J. Shapiro, Trans.). London: Heinemann Educational.

Hall, Budd, Gillette, Arthur, & Tandon, Rajesh. (1982). Creating knowledge: A monopoly? New Delhi: Society for Participatory Research in Asia.

Hall, Budd L. (1981). Participatory research, popular knowledge and power: A personal reflection. Convergence, 14(3), 6-17.

Hall, Edward T. (1986). Unstated features of the cultural context of learning. In Alan Thomas & Edward Ploman (Eds.), Learning and development: A global perspective (pp. 157-176). Toronto: OISE Press.

Hamilton, Edwin, & Cunningham, Phyllis. (1989). Community-based adult education. In Sharan B. Merriam & Phyllis Cunningham (Eds.), Handbook of adult and continuing education (pp. 439-450). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Hannigan, John. (1979). Mass media and community development—the Canadian experience. In Dan A. Chekki (Ed.), Participatory democracy in action: International profiles of community development (pp. 115-123). Sahibabad, India: Vika's Publishing House.

Harris, Elayne. (1972). Fogo process in communication: A reflection on the use of film and videotape in community development. St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Henaut, Dorothy. (1971). The media as powerful catalyst for community. In John Niemi (Ed.), Mass media and adult education (pp. 105-124). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Educational Technology Publication.

Henderson, Hazel. (1978). Creating alternative futures: The end of economics. New York: Berkley Publishing Corporation.

Hernandez, I. (1985). Theoretical contribution: Popular education. Paper presented to the Third World Assembly of Adult Education, Buenos Aires.

Hindley, Patricia, Martin, Gail, & McNulty, Jean. (1977). The tangled net: Basic issues in Canadian communication. Vancouver: J.J. Douglas.

Hunt, David E. (1987). Beginning with ourselves. Cambridge, MA: Brookline Books.

Innis, Harold. (1950). Empire and communications. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Ironside, Diana. (1985). Adult education: concepts and definitions. In Torsten Husen & T. Neville Postlethwaite (Eds.), International encyclopedia of education: Research and studies (pp. 115-120). Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Jayaweera, Neville, & Amunugama, Sarath. (Eds.). (1987). Rethinking development communication. Singapore: The Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre.

Jung, Carl. (1963). Memories, dreams, reflections. London: Collins.

Kennedy, Timothy. (1984). Beyond advocacy. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, Ithaca.

Kidd, Ross, & Kumar, Krisha. (1981). Co-opting Freire: A critical analysis of pseudo-Freirian adult education. Economic and Political Weekly, 27-39.

Knowles, Malcolm. (1970). The modern practice of adult education: From pedagogy to andragogy (2nd ed.). Chicago: Follet.

Knox, Alan B. (1980). Proficiency theory of adult learning. Contemporary Educational Psychology, 5, 378-404.

Krownenburg J. (1986). Empowerment of the poor: A comparative analysis of two development endeavours in Kenya, Nijmegen, Netherlands: Third World Centre.

Kumar, Keval, J. (1989, January). Strategies for development: The passing of development communication? Participation: A key concept for change and development. Seminar conducted at University of Poona, Pune, India.

Langdon, Robert K. (1976). (Chair). Report of the Buchans Task Force. St. John's: Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Larkin, Florence. (1990). An exploration of the development communication field in Canada: Linkages between research, practices, universities, and development agencies. Unpublished masters thesis, University of Guelph, Guelph.

Lawson, Bruce. (1972). Cable T.V. as de-mystifier: Community control of cable television. In Alan Powell (Ed.), The city: Attacking modern myths (pp. 115-123). Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Lewin, Kurt. (1951). Field theory in social science. New York: Harper Torchbooks.

Lewis, Peter & Pearlman, Corine. (1986). Media power from Marconi to Murdock: A graphic guide. London, England: Camden Press.

Lincoln, Yvonna S., & Guba, Egon G. (1985). Naturalistic inquiry. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Lindeman, Edward. (1926). The meaning of adult education. New York: Republic.

Lippmann, Walter. (1922). Public opinion. New York: Macmillan.

Lovett, Tom. (1975). Adult education, community development and the working class. London: Ward Lock Educational.

Lovett, Tom, Clarke, Chris, & Kilmurray, Avila. (1983). Adult education and community action. London: Croom Helm.

Low, Colin. (1974). Media as mirror. In A resource for an active community (pp. 21-28). Ottawa: Canadian Radio-Television Commission.

MacLean, Eleanor. (1981). Between the lines. Montreal: Black Rose Books.

MacPherson, Crawford B. (1973). Democratic theory: Essays in retrieval. Oxford: Clarendon.

Maguire, Patricia. (1987). Doing participatory research: A feminist approach. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts.

Manoff, Robert K., & Schudson, Michael. (Eds.). (1987). Reading the news. New York: Pantheon Books.

Marshall, Catherine, & Rossman, Gretchen. (1989). Designing qualitative research. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Martindale, Don. (1972). The crisis in the contemporary theory of social and cultural change. In Gerald Zaltman, Philip Kolter & Ira Kaufman (Eds.), Creating social change (pp.8-21). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Matthews, Ralph. (1983). The creation of regional dependency. Toronto: University Press.

McAnany, Emile G. (1973). Radio's role in development: Five strategies of use. (Information Bulletin Number Four). Washington: Stanford University, Clearinghouse on Development Communication.

McAnany, Emile G., & Storey, Douglas. (1989, May). Development communication: A reappraisal for the 1990's. Paper presented to the International Division of the 39th Annual Conference of the International Communication Association, San Francisco.

McBride, Sam. (1980). Many voices: one world. Paris: UNESCO, London: Kegan Page, New York: Unipub.

McClusky, Howard. (1960). Community development. In Malcolm Knowles (Ed.), Handbook of adult education in the United States (pp. 416-427). Chicago: Adult Education Association of the United States of America.

McClusky, Howard Y. (1970). An approach to a differential psychology of the adult potential. In Malcolm Knowles (Ed.), The adult learner: A neglected species (3rd ed.). (pp. 156-169) Houston: Gulf Publishing Company.

McLuhan, Marshall. (1964). Understanding media: The extensions of man. Scarborough, Ontario: New American Library.

McPhail, Thomas. (1981). Electronic colonialism: the future of international broadcasting and communication. Beverly Hills: Sage.

McTaggart, Robin. (1989, September). Principles for participatory research. Paper presented to the Third World Encounter on Participatory Research, Manuagua, Nicaragua.

Merriam, Sharan. (1987). Adult learning and theory building: A review. Adult Education Quarterly, 37, 187-198.

Merriam, Sharan. (1988a). Finding your way through the maze: A guide to the literature on adult learning. Lifelong Learning. II(6), 4-7.

Merriam, Sharan. (1988b). Case study research in education: A qualitative approach. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Mezirow, Jack. (1960). Community development as an educational process. International Review of Community Development, 5, 137-150.

Mezirow, Jack. (1978). Perspective transformation. Adult Education, 28, 100-110.

Mezirow, Jack. (1981). A critical theory of adult learning and education. Adult Education, 32, 3-24.

Mezirow, Jack. (1985). Concept and action in adult education. Adult Education Quarterly, 35, 142-151.

Mezirow, Jack. (1988, May). Transformation theory. Proceedings of the 29th Adult Education Research Conference. (pp.223-227). Calgary: The University of Calgary.

Mezirow, Jack. (1989). Letter to Commission of Professors of Adult Education and the American Association for Adult and Continuing Education.

Miles, Matthew B., & Huberman, A. Michael. (1984). Qualitative data analysis: A sourcebook of new methods. Newbury Park, CA: Sage

Moore, Rick. (1987). Canada's challenge for change: Documentary film and video as an exercise of power through the production of cultural reality. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oregon, Eugene.

Myrdal, Gunner. (1957). Economic theory and under-developed regions. London: Gerald Duckworth.

Nair, K.S., & White, Shirley, A. (1989, February). Beyond multiplicity theory: An approach to activating participatory development communication. Participation: a key concept in communication for change and development. Seminar conducted at University of Poona, Pune, India.

Narvaez, Peter. (1986). The protest songs of a labour union on strike against an American corporation in a Newfoundland company town: A folkloristic analysis with special references to oral folk history. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Indiana). Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International, Publication number 86-07-398.

Neary, George. (1981). Mining history of the Buchans area. In E.A. Swanson, D.F. Strong & J.G. Thurlow (Eds.), The Buchans orebodies: Fifty years of geology and mining, (pp. 1-59). Geological Association of Canada. Special Paper 22.

Nerfin, Marc. (1977). Another development: Approaches and strategies. Uppsala, Sweden: The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation.

Ogilvie, Jean. (1983). Community radio in Quebec—perspectives in conflict. Unpublished masters thesis, McGill University, Montreal.

Osorio, Jorge. (1988). Popular education in Latin America. International Journal of University Adult Education, XXVII(3), 28-36.

Osorio, Jorge. (1989). Controversies and assertations of popular education in Latin America. Participatory Formation Newsletter. 3, 29-35.

Parenti, Michael. (1986). Inventing reality: the politics of the mass media. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Parlett, Malcolm, & Hamilton, David. (1977). Evaluation as illumination: a new approach to the study of innovatory programmes. In David Hamilton, David Jenkins, Christine King, Barry MacDonald, & Malcolm Parlett (Eds.), Beyond the numbers game (pp.6-22). London: MacMillan Education.

Patton, Michael Quinn. (1990). Qualitative evaluation and research methods. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Peers, Frank W. (1966). The politics of Canadian broadcasting. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Platiel, Rudy. (1992, January 20). North channels its resources. Globe and Mail, p. A5.

Postman, Neil. (1985). Amusing ourselves to death. New York: Viking.

Pyrch, Timothy. (1983). An examination of the concept of community development as discerned through selected literature in the adult education movement in

Canada and the United States, 1919-1960. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia, Vancouver.

Raboy, Marc. (1990). Missed opportunities: The story of Canada's broadcasting policy. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Roberts, Hayden. (1979). Community development: Learning and action. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Rockhill, Kathleen. (1976, June). The use of qualitative research in adult education to enlighten, ennoble, and enable. Paper presented at the International Conference on Adult Education and Development, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania.

Rockhill, Kathleen. (1982). Researching participation in adult education: The potential of the qualitative perspective. Adult Education Quarterly, 33, 3-19.

Rockhill, Kathleen. (1985). The liberal perspective and the symbolic legitimation of university adult education in the USA. In Richard Taylor, Kathleen Rockhill, & Roger Fieldhouse (Eds.), University adult education in England and the USA: A reappraisal of the liberal tradition (pp. 123-174). London: Croom Helm.

Rogers, Everett M. (1989). Inquiry in development communication. In Molefi K. Asante, & William B. Gudykunst (Eds.), Handbook of international and intercultural communication (pp. 65-86). London: Sage Publications.

Rosen, Earl, & Herman, Reg. (1974). The community use of media for lifelong learning in Canada. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Department of Adult Education.

Rothman, Jack. (1974). Three models of community organization practice. In Fred M. Cox, John L. Erlich, Jack Rothman, & John E. Tropman (Eds.), Strategies of community organization (pp. 20-36). Itasca, IL: F.E. Peacock Publishers.

Sanders, Irwin T. (1970). The concept of community development. In Lee J. Carey (Ed.), Community development as a process (pp. 9-31). Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press.

Schiller, Herbert, I. (1973). The mind managers. Boston: Beacon Press.

Schiller, Herbert, I. (1989, April). Tape recording of a presentation made to Mass media in a time of crisis. Conference conducted in Västerås, Sweden.

Schramm, Wilbur. (1977). Big media, little media. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Schwass, Roger. (1972). National Farm Radio Forum: The history of an educational institution in rural Canada. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, Toronto.

Selman, Gordon. (1985). The adult educator: Change agent or program technician? Canadian Journal of University Continuing Education, XI (2), 77-85.

Selman, Gordon. (1991). Citizen and the adult education movement in Canada. Vancouver: Centre for Continuing Education, The University of British Columbia and the International Council for Adult Education.

Servaes, Jan. (1989, February). Participatory communication research with new social movements: A realistic utopia. Participation: A key concept in communication for change and development. Seminar conducted at University of Poona, Pune, India.

Shamberg, Michael. (1971). Guerrilla television. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Shannon, C., & Weaver, W. (1949). The mathematical model of communication. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Sim, Alex. (1988). Land and community: Crisis in Canada's countryside. Guelph: Office of Educational Practice, University of Guelph.

Smythe, Dallas W. (1981). Dependency road: Communications, capitalism, consciousness and Canada. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publications.

Spradley, James P. (1979). The ethnographic interview. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Staff. (1979, Winter). Democratizing television. Learning, 2(2), 1.

Stake, Robert E. (1988). The case study method in social inquiry. In George F. Madaus, Michael S. Scriven, & Daniel L. Stufflebeam (Eds.), Evaluation models: Viewpoints on educational and human services evaluation (pp. 279-286). Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff.

Statistics Canada. (1988). Population and dwelling characteristics—census division and subdivisions, Newfoundland: Part 1 and part 2 profiles. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services. Cat. 94-101 and 94-102.

Sullivan, Edward. (1987). Critical pedagogy and television. In David Livingstone (Ed.), Critical pedagogy and cultural power, (pp. 57-75). South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey Publishers.

Thede, Nancy & Ambrosi, Alain. (Eds.). (1991). Video: The changing world. Montreal: Black Rose Books.

Thomas, Alan. (1991). Beyond education: a new perspective on society's management of learning. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Thompson, Jane. (Ed.). (1980). Adult education for a change. London: Hutchinson.

Tourigny, Patrick. (1983). Community television handbook for northern and underserved communities. Ottawa: Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commissions & Ministry of Supply and Services. Cat. No. BC92-29.

Trow, Martin A. (1970). Methodological problems in the evaluation of innovation. In M.C. Wittock & D.E. Wiley (Eds.), The evaluation of instruction (pp. 289-305). New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Wittrock.

Trudel, Lina. (1991). Alternative television: From myth to reality. In Nancy Thede & Alain Ambrosi (Ed.), Video: The changing world (pp. 72-83). Montreal: Black Rose Books.

Tuchman, Gaye. (1978). Making news. New York: The Free Press (MacMillan).

Vio Grossi, Francisco. (1981). Popular education: Concept and implications. Convergence, XIV(2), 70-72.

Vipond, Mary. (1989). The mass media in Canada. Toronto: J. Lorimer.

Warren, Roland. (1963). The community in America. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Welton, Michael, R. (1987). Knowledge for the people: The struggle for adult learning in English-speaking Canada. Toronto: OISE Press.

Wharf, Brian. (Ed.). (1979). Community work in Canada. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

White, Shirley. (1989). Background to workshop for Development Communication Seminar, University of Poona, 1989.

White, Shirley, & Patel, Pradeep. (1988, June). Strategies for message development using participatory video. Paper presented to International Communications Association, New Orleans, LA.

Wilden, Anthony. (1980). System and structure: Essays on communication and exchange. London: Tavistock.

Williams, Raymond. (1974). Television: technology and cultural form. Fontana, England: Collins.

Williams, Raymond. (1977). Marxism and literature. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Williamson, Tony. (1991). The Fogo Process: Development support communications in Canada and the developing world. In Fred L. Casmir (Ed.), Communication in development (pp. 270-287). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Yin, Robert, K. (1989). Case study research: Design and methods. Applied Social Research Methods Series. Volume 5, Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Young, Crawford. (1979). The politics of cultural pluralism. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Youngman, Frank. (1986). Adult education and socialist pedagogy. London: Croom-Helm.

Zolf, Dorothy. (1973). Community antennae television: A tool for community development. Unpublished masters thesis, The University of Alberta, Edmonton.

AFTERWORD

On March 12 1991, the President of Memorial University of Newfoundland, Dr. Arthur W. May, announced the closure of the Extension Service. His memorandum of that date to employees said: "Today we are announcing a restraint program to meet the financial challenges that face Memorial University in 1991-92... Extension Services [sic] will be discontinued as the activities in this area are not essential to the university's primary responsibilities of teaching and research."